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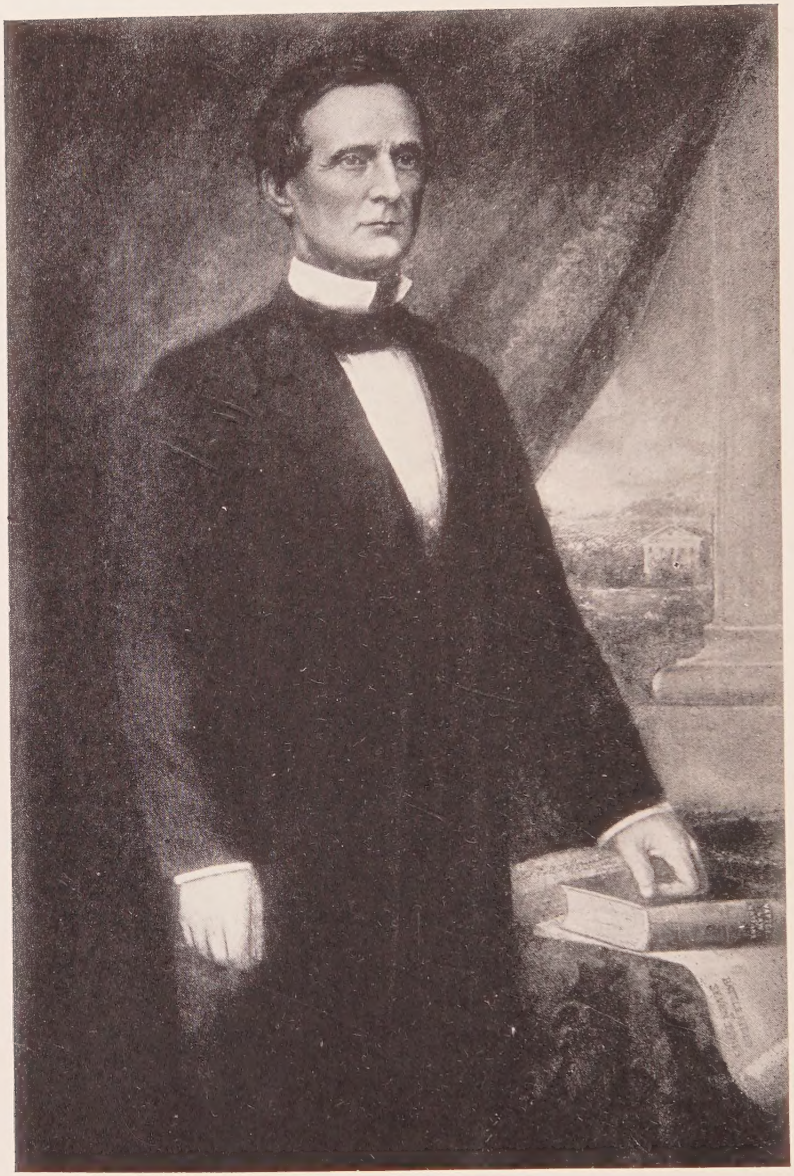
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Jefferson Davis

AS HE APPEARED IN 1861

JEFFERSON DAVIS

CONSTITUTIONALIST

HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL.D.

DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME V

LETTERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS TO:

PAGE

Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston 36, 37
Franklin Pierce 37
George W. Jones 39
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston 39
Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson 46
Mrs. Davis 53
Capt. R. Semmes 54
M. S. Perry 56
Major W. H. C. Whiting 57
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston 58
Captain Barton 59
Governor F. W. Pickens 60
Governor John Letcher, Richmond 64
Governor C. F. Jackson of Missouri 66
Messrs. McKaig, Yellott and Harding 100
Governor John Letcher of Virginia 101, 105
John R. Chambliss 105
P. C. Johnson 108
Abraham Lincoln 109
Governor J. E. Brown, Atlanta 118
General J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va. 119
General Pierre Beauregard, Manassas, Va. 120
Governor John J. Pettus, Jackson 121
Thomas A. R. Nelson, Esq. 122
General J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va. . . . 123, 128, 129, 130, 132
Governor John Letcher, Richmond 131, 132, 134
Howell Cobb 133
General J. E. Johnston, Manassas 135
Governor Thomas A. Moore of Louisiana 136
Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac 138
General Beauregard, Manassas 141
A. J. Gonzales 143
Capt. John P. Thompson and others 145
Major G. Tochman 145
General Beauregard, Manassas 146, 150
Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Manassas, Va. 149
Brig. Gen. George B. Crittenden 151
Major G. Tochman 152
Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn 153

PAGE

Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Manassas 154
General Beauregard, Manassas 156
Col. James Chesnut, Camden, S. C. 157
General J. E. Johnston, Dept. of the Potomac 157
Generals Cooper and Lee 158
Bishop Meade of Virginia 159
General J. E. Johnston, Manassas 159
General Beauregard, Manassas 160
Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Manassas 161
General J. E. Johnston, Manassas 161
General Beauregard, Manassas 163
Col. James Chesnut 164
General J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va. 173
Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va. 174
Governor Francis Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 177
Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va. 178
Governor F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 178
W. P. Harris 179
Brig. Gen. Samuel G. French, Evansport, Va. 180
Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson 180
Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk 180
Maj. Gen. Sterling Price 181
Charles F. Collier, Chairman Committee, House of Delegates, General Assembly of Virginia 182
Governor John Letcher, Richmond 182
General Sterling Price, Commanding Missouri Forces 182
Governor Jackson of Missouri 183, 184
Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson 184
Hon. John B. Clarke, Richmond 185
General Reuben Davis 188
Governor Letcher of Virginia 191
General J. E. Johnston, Commanding Department of Northern Virginia, Centerville 192
Weldon N. Edwards, President North Carolina Convention, Raleigh 193
Governor H. T. Clarke, Raleigh, N. C. 195
Hon. W. W. Avery, Richmond 195
General J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va. 197
Hon. W. N. Edwards, President Convention of North Carolina, Raleigh 198
Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger, Norfolk, Va. 207
General J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va. 208, 210
E. Barksdale and others 211
General J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va. 211
J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, Richmond, Va. 214
General Albert Sidney Johnston, by Captain Wickliffe, C. S.A. . 215
W. M. Brooks 216
General Humphrey Marshall, Lebanon, Russell Co., Va. . . . 219

PAGE
Governor Jas. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 220
James Barbour, Exchange Hotel, Richmond 221
General J. E. Johnston, Headquarters Army of the Potomac . . 222
General Jos. E. Johnston, Commanding Dept. of Northern Virginia 224
General A. S. Johnston, Corinth, Miss. 225
Hon. C. P. Villery, Richmond 227
Governor H. T. Clark of North Carolina, Raleigh 229
Hon. W. L. Yancey, Richmond, Va. 231
Hon. W. L. Yancey & C. C. Clay, Senators 234
General Mansfield Lovell, New Orleans 234
Honorables Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney General, Postmaster General 235
Govr. Jos. E. Brown of Georgia 236
General J. E. Johnston, Commanding Army, near Tunstall's Station, New Kent Co., Va. 242
Mrs. Davis 245
General J. E. Johnston, Commanding Army of N. Va. . . . 247
Mrs. Davis 248
General Earl Van Dorn, Army of the Mississippi, Corinth, Miss. 248
General J. E. Johnston, Commdg. etc. 251
Mrs. Davis 252
Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 254
Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 262
General M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, Miss. 263
Mrs. Davis 264, 266
General T. J. Jackson, Commanding in Valley of Va. 267
Maj. Gen. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C. 268
Mrs. Sarah E. Cochrane 269
General H. H. Sibley, Commanding San Antonio, Texas . . . 271
Mrs. Davis 273
General Robert E. Lee 274
Mrs. Davis 277
Col. Wm. P. Johnston, A. D. C. 279
General R. Taylor 280
W. H. S. Taylor 283
Mrs. Davis 283
Hon. W. G. Swan, M. C., and Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, Knoxville, Tenn. 284
Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La. 286
General R. E. Lee 289
Mrs. Davis 290
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 291
Govr. Jos. E. Brown, Atlanta, Ga. 292
Col. J. F. Marshall, South Carolina Volunteers 293
Messrs. Fraser & Co., Charleston, S. C. 297
Governor I. G. Harris of Tennessee 303

PAGE

General G. J. Pillow, Oxford, Miss. 304
Messrs. Hiram Roberts and others, Savannah, Ga. 305
General R. E. Lee, Commanding, etc. 307, 308
Govr. Clark, Raleigh, N. C. 309
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 310
General Braxton Bragg 312
Govr. Henry T. Clark, Raleigh, N. C. 314
Brig. Gen. Albert Pike, Camp McCulloch, Choctaw Nation . . 315
Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, Richmond 316
Hon. T. H. Watts, Atty. Gen., Richmond, Va. 317
Govr. F. R. Lubbock, Austin, Texas 318
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 319
Hons. Geo. B. Hodge and W. B. Machen, M. C. from Kentucky . 333
Hon. H. Holt, M. C. from Georgia 337
Gen. R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., Gen. B. Bragg, Comdg. etc., Gen. E. K. Smith, Comdg. etc. 338
Richard Hawes, Provisional Governor of Kentucky 341
Govr. F. R. Lubbock of Texas, Govr. C. F. Jackson of Mo., Govr. T. O. Moore of La. and Govr. H. M. Rector of Ark. 342
General R. E. Lee 345
Col. J. R. Davis, A. D. C., Richmond, Va. 346
Brig. Gen. H. Marshall 348
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 351
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 352
Hon. Lucien J. Dupree, Richmond 352
Hon. J. Phelan, C. S. Senate 353
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 354
Maj. Gen. T. H. Holmes 356
Hon. B. H. Hill, C. S. Senator, La Grange, Ga. 358
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 360
Govr. J. G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala. 361
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 362
Mrs. Mary E. Wilkinson, Vicksburg, Miss. 365
Govr. John Milton, Tallahassee, Fla. 366
Lt. Col. Laffon de Ladibat, Richmond, Va. 367
Mrs. Isabella Grinnell, Globe Hospital, Richmond, Va. 368
Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, Richmond . 369, 371, 374
S. R. Mallory and C. G. Memminger 372
Lieut. Gen. T. J. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Mississippi Dept. . . 375
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 375
General R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va. 376
Lt. Gen. Polk, Tullahoma, via Chattanooga, Tenn. 377
Govrs. J. E. Brown of Ga., R. Hawes of Ky., H. M. Rector of Ark., F. R. Lubbock of Texas, C. J. Jackson of Mo., I. G. Harris of Tenn., John Letcher of Va., J. G. Shorter of Ala., J. J. Pettus of Miss., F. W. Pickens of S. C., John Milton of Fla., Z. B. Vance of N. C. and Thos. O. Moore of La. 377

PAGE

Govr. J. E. Brown of Georgia 379
Gov. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 380
Govr. T. O. Moore, Alexandria, La. 381
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 382
Hon. Wade Keyes, Asst. Attorney General 382
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va. 384
General T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Mississippi Dept., Little Rock, Ark. 386
General R. E. Lee, Army N. Virginia 395
Brig. Gen. H. W. Mercer, Savannah, Ga. 417
F. L. Dancey, Buena Vista, Florida 418
Hon. E. Sparrow, C. S. Senate 419
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 420
General J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn. 420
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., Fredericksburg, Va. 421
Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 422
Govr. John G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala. 423
General J. B. Magruder, Galveston, Texas 424
General T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (by General J. C. Tappan) 424
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 427
Govr. M. L. Bonham, South Carolina 429
Col. A. C. Myers, Q. M. General, Richmond, Va. 430
Hon. Edw. Sparrow, Richmond, Va. 430
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 431
General J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn. 433
Brig. Gen. H. Marshall, Estillville, Va. 435
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 437
Hon. H. V. Johnson, Richmond, Va. 438
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C. 439
General T. H. Holmes, Trans-Missi. Dept. 439
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 441
Shelton F. Leake, Charlottesville, Va. 442
Jonathan Davis, Albany, Ga. 444
Hon. C. C. Clay, Chairman, etc. 445
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 446, 448
Brig. Gen. H. Marshall, Estillville, Va. 446
Govr. Jno. G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala. 447
General B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 448
General Roger A. Pryor, Petersburg, Va. 449
Govr. Jas. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 449
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 450, 454
Lt. Gen. E. K. Smith, Comdg. Dept. Trans-Missi.; Lt. Gen. T. H. Holmes, Little Rock, Ark.; Lt. Gen. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 450
Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 451, 453
Govr. Thomas O. Moore, of Louisiana 451

PAGE

Gen. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn. 452
Gen. B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 453
Hon. A. H. Garland, House of Representatives 457
Senators and Representatives from Arkansas 460
T. K. Barber, C. S. Atty., Woodville, Miss. 463
General R. E. Lee, Commanding, etc., and General J. E. Johnston 463
Hon. Wm. M. Brooks, Marion, Ala. 464
Govr. Harris Flanagin, Little Rock, Ark. 465
Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 467
Govr. John J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 468
General J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn. 468
General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss., and General S. Buckner, Mobile, Ala. 469
Governors of Texas, Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas 474
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 474
General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 475, 476
General J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn. 475
Govr. J. Whitfield, Bishop Paine, Hon. Jas. T. Harrison, Dr. Sykes 483
Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secretary of War, Richmond, Va. 488
Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 490, 509, 510
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 492, 500
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., near Fredericksburg, Va. 501
Brig. Gen. G. J. Rains, Richmond, Va. 504
General B. Bragg, Shelbyville, Tenn. 507
Mrs. A. J. Sanders, Richmond, Va. 511
Hon. Iverson L. Harris, Milledgeville, Ga. 512
Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States 515
President Lincoln 517
J. H. Maddox 521
General S. B. Buckner, Comdg. etc., Knoxville, Tenn. 522
General B. Bragg, Comdg. etc., Shelbyville, Tenn. 523
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va. 526
Hon. W. L. Yancey, C. S. Senator, Alabama 528
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 545, 569
Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator 548
General W. G. M. Davis, Richmond, Va. 550
Governor Thos. C. Reynolds, of Missouri, Jackson, Miss. 551
Govrs. F. R. Lubbock, Houston, Texas 551
General E. K. Smith 552
General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. etc. 556
Govr. H. Flanagin, of Arkansas 563
General Pemberton, Brandon, Miss. 568, 569, 587
Govr. M. L. Bonham, of South Carolina 572, 585
General R. E. Lee 573, 578, 583, 588
Govr. Z. B. Vance, of North Carolina 576, 595

PAGE
B. T. Kavanaugh 590
Hon. Hines Holt, M. C., Columbus, Ga. 593

LETTERS TO JEFFERSON DAVIS FROM:

Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston, S. C. 45
J. E. Douglass 47
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston, S. C. 58, 59, 61, 62
John Janney, President of Convention, Confederacy 67
Judge Campbell 98
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston, S. C. 99
L. B. Northrop 124, 127
Joseph W. Bunch 132
J. Fowlkes 137
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston, S. C. 173
General Robert E. Lee, Coosawhatchie, S. C. 176
Bishop William Meade 186
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 189
Rev. Charles Minnigerode 193
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 238
Governor F. W. Pickens of South Carolina 275
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 287
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 300, 301
Governor F. W. Pickens of South Carolina 326
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 340
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 369
Guy M. Bryan 442
Governor F. R. Lubbock of Texas 454
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 485
General Robert E. Lee, Head Quarters A., N. Va. 506, 508, 520, 525, 526, 530, 535, 536, 537, 539, 543
Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States 514
Govr. F. R. Lubbock of Texas 535, 544
General Robert E. Lee 567, 575, 585
E. Barksdale 580
Geo. W. Lamar 594

OTHER CORRESPONDENCE:

Correspondence between Confederate Commissioners, Secretary W. H. Seward, and Judge Campbell 86
G. W. C. Lee, A. D. C. of Jefferson Davis, to Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va. 181
G. W. C. Lee to A. J. Battle, Esq., Weldon, N. C. 197
G. W. C. Lee to Governor Letcher of Virginia, Richmond . . . 226
G W. C. Lee to T. H. Wynne, Esq., Chairman Committee on Defense, Richmond, Va. 240
G. W. C. Lee to R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va. 428
G. W. C. Lee to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 432

PAGE

Col. Wm. M. Browne to Gen. W. H. Richardson, Adj. Gen. of Va., Richmond, Va. 524

NEWSPAPER REPORTS:

Journey of President Davis to Richmond (*Daily Richmond Enquirer*, May 30, 1861) 102

PUBLIC ADDRESSES OF JEFFERSON DAVIS:

Montgomery, Alabama, February 19, 1861 47
Inaugural Address as President of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, Montgomery, February 18, 1861 . 49
To the Confederate Congress, Montgomery, April 29, 1861 . . 67
President Davis at New Fair Grounds, Richmond, May 29, 1861 104
Message to the Confederate Congress, Richmond, July 20, 1861 . 111
Message to the Confederate Congress, Richmond, November 18, 1861 166
Inaugural Address as President of the Confederate States, Richmond, February 22, 1862 198
Message to the Confederate Congress, February 25, 1862 . . . 203
Message to the Confederate Congress, August 18, 1862 . . . 320
Message to the Confederate Congress, August 26 and 27, 1862 330, 331
To Governor and Executive Council of South Carolina, September 3, 1862 334
Speech in Richmond, January 7, 1863 390
Message to the Confederate Congress, January 12, 1863 . . . 396
Message to the People of the Confederate States, April 10, 1863 . 469
Message to the Confederate Congress, April 23, 1863 476
Message to the Senate of the Confederate States of America, April 30, 1863 478

REMARKS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS IN UNITED STATES SENATE:

Special Message on Affairs in South Carolina, January 10, 1861 1
Last Speech of Jefferson Davis, on Retiring from the Senate, January 21, 1861 40

TELEGRAMS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS TO:

Governor John Letcher, Richmond 63
Governor F. W. Pickens, Charleston 64
Governor John Letcher, Richmond 65
General Pierre Beauregard, Manassas, Va. 110, 111
General J. E. Johnston 118
J. G. M. Ramsey, Knoxville 122
Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk, Columbus, Ky. 160
John Duncan, Jackson 161
Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger, Norfolk, Va. 207
General A. S. Johnston 213
Governor J. G. Shorter, Montgomery, Alabama 213

PAGE
General J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va. 214
Governor Thomas O. Moore, New Orleans 220
General J. E. Johnston, Culpepper C. H., Va. 223
Governor H. T. Clark of North Carolina, Raleigh 223
General L. Polk, Jackson, Tenn. 224
Governor Jos. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 224
C. J. McRae, Mobile, Ala. 226
Capt. S. S. Lee, Commandant, Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va. . . 226
General A. S. Johnston, Corinth, Miss. 227
Governor T. O. Moore of Louisiana, New Orleans 228
Governor John Milton of Florida, Tallahassee 228
Govr. Pettus, Miss., Govr. Moore, La., Govr. Pickens, S. C., Govr. Brown, Ga., Govr. Shorter, Ala. 230
Govr. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 230
Govr. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 230
Govr. Moore, New Orleans 231
Govr. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 231
Govr. Moore of La., New Orleans 232
Govr. Brown of Ga., Savannah 233
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 233
Govr. Thomas D. Moore, New Orleans 235
Mayor Moore of New Orleans, La. 236
Capt. Douglas Walworth, Gordonsville 237
Govr. Pickens of S. C., Columbia, S. C. 237
Govr. J. J. Pettus of Mississippi, Jackson 238
General J. E. Johnston, Yorktown, Va. 238, 239
Govr. J. E. Brown of Georgia, Atlanta 240
Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La. 241, 242
Govr. Brown of Ga., Milledgeville, Ga. 241
Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La. 243, 244
Maj. Gen. E. K. Smith, Knoxville, Tenn. 244
Govr. Thomas O. Moore, Camp Moore, La. 245
Col. James Chesnut, Columbia, S. C. 247
Govr. Henry T. Clark, Raleigh, N. C. 250
Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La. 250
J. E. Davis, Jackson, Miss. 250
Brig. Gen. Marshall, Jeffersonville, Va., via Wytheville, Va. . . 251
General T. H. Holmes, or Commanding Officer, Goldsboro, N. C. . 265
General J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C. 267
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 267
Maj. Gen. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C. 269, 270
General J. G. Walker, Drewrys Bluff, Va. 270
Judge Orville A. Bull, Atlanta, Ga. 270
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 273
General E. Van Dorn, Baldwin, Miss. 273
C. R. Dickson, Jackson, Miss. 274
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 274

PAGE

General E. Van Dorn, Tupelo, Miss. 276
Col. T. A. Mellon, Vicksburg, Miss. 277
Brig. Gen. M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, Miss. 278, 281
General Braxton Bragg, Tupelo, Miss. 279
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 282
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 282
General Braxton Bragg, Tupelo, Miss. 283
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 285
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 285
General E. Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss. 286
General E. K. Smith, Knoxville, Tenn. 286
Brig. Gen. French, or officer in command at Wilmington, N. C. . 294
Gen. E. Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss. 294
Col. Chesnut, Columbia, S. C. 295
Gov. Thos. O. Moore, Opelousas via Woodville, Miss. 296
General Braxton Bragg, Tupelo, Miss. 296
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 296
General H. W. Mercer, Savannah, Ga. 297
General Braxton Bragg, Mobile, Ala. 298
Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La. 298
Thomas Randall, Tallahassee, Florida 299
General D. H. Hill, Petersburg, Va. 299
General H. Marshall, Abingdon, Va. 300
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 309
General Earl Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss. 310
General J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C. 310
General H. Marshall, via Dublin, Va. 314
Atty. Gen. T. J. Wharton, Jackson, Miss. 314
Jos. D. Van Benthuysen, Jackson, Miss. 315
Hon. T. J. Wharton, Jackson, Miss. 317
Brig. Gen. H. Marshall, via Dublin, Va. 320
General J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C. 326
General R. E. Lee, Gordonsville, Va. 326, 327
Mrs. J. W. Harris and others, Columbus, Miss. 328
Brig. Gen. H. Marshall, Abingdon, Va. 328
General R. E. Lee, Rapidan Station, Va. 328
Howell Hinds, Fayette, via Mobile 329
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 329
General E. Van Dorn, Jackson, Miss. 329
General R. E. Lee, Jefferson via Rapidan, Va. 330
Maj. Gen. Wm. J. Hardee, Chattanooga, Tenn. 332
Gen. R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., Salem, via Rapidan 332
General Braxton Bragg, care of Gen. J. P. McCown, Knoxsville, Tenn. 337
John Hand and others, Canton, Miss. 338
Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn, Grand Junction, Tenn. 340
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 341

PAGE
General Bragg, care of General McCown, Knoxville, Tenn. . . 343
Gen. H. Marshall, care C. S. Qtr. Master, Abingdon, Va. . . . 344
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 344
General Van Dorn, Holly Springs, Miss. 347
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 347
Govr. I. G. Harris, Chattanooga, Tenn. 348
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 351
Col. Jas. Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C. 354
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 354
Col. James Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C. 355
Maj. Gen. Van Dorn, Holly Springs, Miss. 358
Col. James Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C. 359
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 360
Govr. I. G. Harris, Knoxville, Tenn. 360
General E. K. Smith, Knoxville, Tenn. 362
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 362
V. Row, Woodville, Miss. 363
A. M. Clayton, Jno. W. C. Watson, W. D. Mason, Holly Springs, Miss. 364
Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C. 364
Dr. F. J. Haywood, Raleigh, N. C. 364
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 365
Gen. R. E. Lee, Culpepper C. H., Va. 367
Colonel Martin J. Crawford, Jackson, Miss. 367
Col. M. H. Moore, Jackson, Miss. 368
Hon. A. H. Kenan, Milledgeville, Ga. 368
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 369, 374
Thos. J. Judge, Montgomery, Ala. 375
J. E. Davis, Jackson, Miss. 376
Theodorick Pryor 376
Col. Wm. M. Browne, A. D. C. to the President 378
Lt. Gen. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 379
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 380
E. L. Bowen, Brookhaven, Miss. 382
Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 383
General J. C. Pemberton, Grenada, Miss. 383
General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 383
Hon. J. A. Seddon, Secretary of War, Richmond, Va. 386, 388, 389, 390
Dr. S. A. Cartwright, Chatawa, Pike Co., Miss. 389, 395
Hon. S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, Richmond, Va. . . . 389
General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 396
General R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va. 416
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 416
General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 416
General Van Dorn, Grenada, Miss. 417
General B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 418
Col. G. W. C. Lee, Atlanta, Ga. 418

PAGE

S. D. Richardson, Tangipahoa, La. 419
General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 420, 422
General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 427
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., Fredericksburg, Va. . . . 427, 429
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C. 428, 432
General H. Marshall, Estillville, Scott Co., Va., via Abingdon, Va. 433
General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C. 433
General M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, Miss. 433
Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 435
General Franklin Gardner, Port Hudson, via Jackson, Miss. . . 436
H. R. Davis, Woodville, Miss. 437
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C. 437
General Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 441
Gen. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. 444, 447, 451
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., near Fredericksburg, Va. . . 446
General J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn. 448
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., near Fredericksburg, Va. . . 477
General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. etc., Tullahoma, Tenn. . 479, 481, 487
General J. C. Pemberton, Comdg. etc., Jackson, Miss. . 479, 482, 485
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 479, 480, 489, 490
General R. Davis, Columbus, Miss. 479
General R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Nor. Virginia 480, 481, 482, 499
General J. E. Johnston, Hd. Qrs. via Jackson, Miss. 488, 491, 492, 499
Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga. 489
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Enterprise, Miss. 491
General Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 492
Gen. B. Bragg, Comdg. etc., Shelbyville, Tenn. 493, 503
General J. E. Johnston, via Canton, Miss. 494, 495, 499
Govr. J. Gill Shorter, of Alabama 494, 495
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army No. Va., near Fredericksburg, Va. 496, 500, 505
Hon. W. L. Yancey, Montgomery, Ala. 498
Govr. I. G. Harris, Shelbyville, Tenn. 503
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 505
Judge Iverson L. Harris, Milledgeville, Ga. 505
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc., Culpepper C. H., Va. . . . 508, 513
Lt. Gen. A. P. Hill, Fredericksburg, Va. 508
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C. 510
Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. . 511, 520, 522, 532, 533, 534
Hon. J. J. McRae, Buckalona, Miss. 519
General B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn. 519
Lt. Gen. L. Polk, Shelbyville, Tenn. 520
General D. H. Hill, Petersburg, Va. 522
Hon. A. H. Stephens, Crawfordsville, Ga. 525
Govr. J. J. Pettus, and others, Jackson, Miss. 527, 532
General B. Bragg, Shelbyville, Tenn. 531
General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C. 531, 532

PAGE
General Samuel Jones, Dublin Depot, Va. 533
Lt. Gen. E. K. Smith, care of Gen. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 534
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 534, 542
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss. 539, 542
General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 540, 542
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc. 540
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C. 541, 570
Mayor McBeth, Charleston, S. C. 541
General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss., and General G. E. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C. 545
General Joseph E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 547
Lt. Gen. J. C. Pemberton, care Gen. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss. 547
Lt. Gen. T. H. Holmes 555
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 570
General Sam Jones, Dublin Depot, Va. 571
General J. C. Pemberton, Enterprise, Miss. 571
W. Goodman, President of the M. & C. R. R., Okolona, Miss. . . . 574
General B. Bragg, Chattanooga, Tenn. 575
Govr. M. L. Bonham, Charleston, S. C. 575
General W. J. Hardee, Morton, Miss. 577
Lt. Gen. J. C. Pemberton, Demopolis, Ala. 578
Hon. L. J. Gartrell, Atlanta, Ga. 578
Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C. 582
General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. etc. 582
Govr. J. J. Pettus, Meridian, Miss. 587, 592
General J. C. Pemberton, Gainesville, Miss. 593, 596
Messrs. Isham Harris and others, Columbus, Ga. 595
Brig. Gen. G. J. Rains, Morton, Miss. 596
Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va. 597
General W. J. Hardee, Morton, Miss. 597
General B. Bragg, Chattanooga, Tenn. 597
General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va. 598
Col. James Chesnut, Camden, S. C. 598

JEFFERSON DAVIS, CONSTITUTIONALIST
HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861.

The VICE PRESIDENT. As it lacks but a minute or two of the time when the special order is to be called up, if there be no objection, the Chair will call it up now. Strictly, the Pacific railroad bill is the only special order before the Senate, but as it seems to be the sense of the Senate, the Chair will call up the motion to print the President's message, on which the Senator from Mississippi is entitled to the floor.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, when I took the floor yesterday, I intended to engage somewhat in the argument which has heretofore prevailed in the Senate upon the great questions of constitutional right, which have divided the country from the beginning of the Government. I intended to adduce some evidences, which I thought were conclusive, in favor of the opinions which I entertain; but events, with a current hurrying on as it progresses, have borne me past the point where it would be useful for me to argue, by the citing of authorities, the question of rights. To-day, therefore, it is my purpose to deal with events. Abstract argument has become among the things that are past. We have to deal now with facts; and in order that we may meet those facts and apply them to our present condition, it is well to inquire what is the state of the country. The Constitution provides that the President shall, from time to time, communicate information on the state of the Union. The message which is now under consideration gives us very little, indeed, beyond that which the world, less, indeed, than reading men generally, knew before it was communicated.

What, Senators, to-day is the condition of the country? From every quarter of it comes the wailing cry of patriotism pleading for the preservation of the great inheritance we derived from our fathers. Is there a Senator who does not daily receive letters appealing to him to use even the small power which one man

here possesses to save the rich inheritance our fathers gave us? Tears now trickling down the stern face of man; and those who have bled for the flag of their country, and are willing now to die for it, stand powerless before the plea that the party about to come into power laid down a platform, and that come what will, though ruin stare us in the face, consistency must be adhered to, even though the Government be lost.

In this state of the case, then, we turn and ask, what is the character of the Administration? What is the executive department doing? What assurance have we there for the safety of the country? But we come back from that inquiry with a mournful conviction that feeble hands now hold the reins of State; that drivelers are taken in as counselors not provided by the Constitution; that vacillation is the law; and the policy of this great Government is changed with every changing rumor of the day; nay more, it is changing with every new phase of causeless fear. In this state of the case, after complications have been introduced into the question, after we were brought to the verge of war, after we were hourly expecting by telegraph to learn that the conflict had commenced, after nothing had been done to insure the peace of the land, we are told in this last hour that the question is thrown at the door of Congress, and here rests the responsibility.

Had the garrison at Charleston, representing the claim of the Government to hold the property in a fort there, been called away thirty days, nay, ten days ago, peace would have spread its pinions over this land, and calm negotiation would have been the order of the day. Why was it not recalled? No reason yet has been offered, save that the Government is bound to preserve its property; and yet look from North to South, from East to West, wherever we have constructed forts to defend States against a foreign foe, and everywhere you find them without a garrison, except at a few points where troops are kept for special purposes; not to coerce or to threaten a State, but stationed in sea-coast fortifications there merely for the purposes of discipline and instruction as artillerists. You find all the other forts in the hands of fort keepers and ordnance sergeants, and before a moral and patriotic people, standing safely there as the property of the country.

I asked in this Senate weeks ago "what causes the peril that is now imminent at Fort Moultrie; is it the weakness of the garrison?" and then I answered, "no, it is its presence, not its weakness." Had an ordnance sergeant there represented the Federal Government; had there been no troops, no physical

power to protect it, I would have pledged my life upon the issue that no question ever would have been made as to its seizure. Now, not only there, but elsewhere, we find movements of troops further to complicate this question, and probably to precipitate us upon the issue of civil war; and worse than all, this Government, reposing on the consent of the governed; this Government, strong in the affections of the people; this Government (I describe it as our fathers made it) is now furtively sending troops to occupy positions lest "the mob" should seize them. When before in the history of our land was it that a mob could resist the sound public opinion of the country? When before was it that an unarmed magistrate had not the power, by crying, "I command the peace," to quell a mob in any portion of the land? Yet now we find, under cover of night, troops detached from one position to occupy another. Fort Washington, standing in its lonely grandeur, and overlooking the home of the Father of his Country, near by the place where the ashes of Washington repose, built there to prevent a foreign foe from coming up the Potomac with armed ships to take the capital—Fort Washington is garrisoned by marines sent secretly away from the navy-yard at Washington. And Fort McHenry, memorable in our history as the place where, under bombardment, the star-spangled banner floated through the darkness of night, the point which was consecrated by our national song—Fort McHenry, too, has been garrisoned by a detachment of marines, sent from this place in an extra train, and sent under cover of the night, so that even the mob should not know it.

Senators, the responsibility is thrown at the door of Congress. Let us take it. It is our duty in this last hour to seize the pillars of our Government and uphold them, though we be crushed in the fall. Then what is our policy? Are we to drift into war? Are we to stand idly by and allow war to be precipitated upon the country? Allow an officer of the Army to make war? Allow an unconfirmed head of a Department to make war? Allow a general of the Army to make war? Allow a President to make war? No, sir. Our fathers gave to Congress the power to declare war, and even to Congress they gave no power to make war upon a State of the Union. It could not have been given, except as a power to dissolve the Union. When, then, we see, as is evident to the whole country, that we are drifting into a war between the United States and an individual State, does it become the Senate to sit listlessly by and discuss abstract questions, and read patch-work from the opinions of men now mingled with the dust? Are we not bound to meet

events as they come before us, manfully and patriotically to struggle with the difficulties which now oppress the country?

In the message yesterday we were even told that the District of Columbia was in danger. In danger of what? From whom comes the danger? Is there a man here who dreads that the deliberations of this body are to be interrupted by an armed force? Is there one who would not prefer to fall with dignity at his station, the representative of a great and peaceful Government, rather than to be protected by armed bands? And yet the rumor is—and rumors seem now to be so authentic that we credit them rather than other means of information—that companies of artillery are to be quartered in this city to preserve peace where the laws have heretofore been supreme, and that this District is to become a camp, by calling out every able-bodied man within its limits to bear arms under the militia law. Are we invaded? Is there an insurrection? Are there two Senators here who would not be willing to go forth as a file, and put down any resistance which showed itself in this District against the Government of the United States? Is the reproach meant against these, my friends from the South, who advocate southern rights and State rights? If so, it is a base slander. We claim our rights under the Constitution; we claim our rights reserved to the States; and we seek by no brute force to gain any advantage which the law and the Constitution do not give us. We have never appealed to mobs. We have never asked for the Army and the Navy to protect us. On the soil of Mississippi, not the foot of a Federal soldier has been impressed since 1819, when, flying from the yellow fever, they sought refuge within the limits of our State; and on the soil of Mississippi there breathes not a man who asks for any other protection than that which our Constitution gives us, that which our strong arms afford, and the brave hearts of our people will insure in every contingency.

Senators, we are rapidly drifting into a position in which this is to become a Government of the Army and Navy; in which the authority of the United States is to be maintained, not by law, not by constitutional agreement between the States, but by physical force; and will you stand still and see this policy consummated? Will you fold your arms, the degenerate descendants of those men who proclaimed the eternal principle that government rests on the consent of the governed; and that every people have a right to change, modify, or abolish a Government when it ceases to answer the ends for which it was established, and permit this Government imperceptibly to slide

from the moorings where it was originally anchored, and become a military despotism? It was well said by the Senator from New York, whom I do not now see in his seat, [Mr. SEWARD,] well said in a speech, wherein I found but little to commend, that this Union could not be maintained by force, and that a Union of force was a despotism. It was a great truth, come from what quarter it may. That was not the Government instituted by our fathers; and against it, so long as I live, with heart and hand, I will rebel.

This brings me to consider a passage in the message, which says:

"I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State; and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress;"—

Very good.

"but the right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the power of the Federal Government, is clear and undeniable."

Is it so? Where does he get it? Our fathers were so jealous of a standing army, that they scarcely would permit the organization and maintenance of any army. Where does he get the "clear and undeniable" power to use the force of the United States in the manner he there proposes? To execute a process, troops may be summoned as a *posse comitatus;* and here, in the history of our Government, it is not to be forgotten that in the earlier, and, as it is frequently said, the better days of the Republic—and painfully we feel that they were better indeed—a President of the United States did not recur to the Army; he went to the people of the United States. Vaguely and confusedly, indeed, did the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. JOHNSON] bring forward the case of the great man, Washington, as one in which he had used a power which, he argued, was equivalent to the coercion of a State; for he said that Washington used the military power against a portion of the people of a State; and why might he not as well have used it against the whole State? Let me tell that Senator that the case of General Washington has no application, as he supposes. It was a case of insurrection within the State of Pennsylvania; and the very message from which he read communicated the fact that Gover-

nor Mifflin thought it necessary to call the militia of adjoining States to aid him. President Washington coöperated with Governor Mifflin; he called the militia of adjoining States to coöperate with those of Pennsylvania. He used the militia, not as a standing army. It was by the consent of the Governor; it was by his advice. It was not the invasion of the State; it was not the coercion of the State; but it was aiding the State to put down insurrection, and in the very manner provided for in the Constitution itself.

But, I ask again, what power has the President to use the Army and the Navy except to execute process? Are we to have drum-head courts substituted for those which the Constitution and laws provide? Are we to have sergeants sent over the land instead of civil magistrates? Not so thought the elder Adams; and here, in passing, I will pay him a tribute he deserves, as the one to whom, more than any other man among the early founders of this Government, credit is due for the military principles which prevail in its organization. Associated with Mr. Jefferson originally, in preparing the rules and articles of war, Mr. Adams reverted through the long pages of history back to the empire of Rome, and drew from that foundation the very rules and articles of war which govern in our country to-day, and drew them thence because he said they had brought two nations to the pinnacle of glory—referring to the Romans and the Britons, whose military law was borrowed from them. Mr. Adams, however, when an insurrection occurred in the same State of Pennsylvania, not only relied upon the militia, but his orders, through Secretary McHenry, required that the militia of the vicinage should be employed; and, though he did not order mounted troops from Philadelphia, he required the militia of the northern counties to be employed as long as they were able to execute the laws; and the orders given to Colonel McPherson, then in New Jersey, were, that Federal troops should not go across the Jersey line except in the last resort. I say, then, when we trace our history to its early foundation, under the first two Presidents of the United States, we find that this idea of using the Army and the Navy to execute the laws at the discretion of the President, was one not even entertained, still less acted upon, in any case.

Then, Senators, we are brought to consider passing events. A little garrison in the harbor of Charleston now occupies a post which, I am sorry to say, it gained by the perfidious breach of an understanding between the parties concerned; and here, that I may do justice to one who had not the power on this floor,

at least, to right himself—who has no friend here to represent him—let me say that remark does not apply to Major Anderson; for I hold that, though his orders were not so designed, as I am assured, they did empower him to go from one post to another, and to take his choice of the posts in the harbor of Charleston; but, in so doing, he committed an act of hostility. When he dismantled Fort Moultrie, when he burned the carriages and spiked the guns bearing upon Fort Sumter, he put Carolina in the attitude of an enemy of the United States; and yet he has not shown any just cause for apprehension. Vague rumors had reached him—and causeless fear seems now to be the impelling motive of every public act—vague rumors of an intention to take Fort Moultrie. But, sir, a soldier should be confronted by an overpowering force before he spikes his guns and burns his carriages. A soldier should be confronted by a public enemy before he destroys the property of the United States lest it should fall into the hands of such an enemy. Was that fort built to make war upon Carolina? Was an armament put into it for such a purpose? Or was it built for the protection of Charleston harbor; and was it armed to make that protection complete? If so, what right had any soldier to destroy that armament lest it should fall into the hands of Carolina?

Some time since I presented to the Senate resolutions which embodied my views upon this subject, drawing from the Constitution itself the data on which I based those resolutions. I then invoked the attention of the Senate in that form to the question as to whether garrisons should be kept within a State against the consent of that State. Clear was I then, as I am now, in my conclusion. No garrison should be kept within a State during a time of peace, if the State believes the presence of that garrison to be either offensive or dangerous. Our Army is maintained for common defense; our forts are built out of the common Treasury, to which every State contributes; and they are perverted from the purpose for which they were erected whenever they are garrisoned with a view to threaten, to intimidate, or to control a State in any respect.

Yet we are told this is no purpose to coerce a State; we are told that the power does not exist to coerce a State; but the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. JOHNSON] says it is only a power to coerce individuals; and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. WADE] seems to look upon this latter power as a very harmless power in the hands of the President, though such coercion would be to destroy the State. What is a State? Is it land and houses? Is it taxable property? Is it the organization of the local gov-

ernment? Or is it all these combined, with the people who possess them? Destroy the people, and yet not make war upon the State! To state the proposition is to answer it, by reason of its very absurdity. It is like making desolation, and calling it peace.

There being, as it is admitted on every hand, no power to coerce a State, I ask what is the use of a garrison within a State where it needs no defense? The answer from every candid mind must be, there is none. The answer from every patriotic breast must be, peace requires, under all such circumstances, that the garrison should be withdrawn. Let the Senate to-day, as the responsibility is thrown at our door, pass those resolutions, or others which better express the idea contained in them, and you have taken one long step towards peace, one long stride towards the preservation of the Government of our fathers.

The President's message of December, however, had all the characteristics of a diplomatic paper, for diplomacy is said to abhor certainty, as nature abhors a vacuum; and it was not within the power of man to reach any fixed conclusion from that message. When the country was agitated, when opinions were being formed, when we are drifting beyond the power ever to return, this was not what we had a right to expect from the Chief Magistrate. One policy or the other he ought to have taken. If a federalist, if believing this to be a Government of force, if believing it to be a consolidated mass and not a confederation of States, he should have said: no State has a right to secede; every State is subordinate to the Federal Government, and the Federal Government must empower me with physical means to reduce to subjugation the State asserting such a right. If not, if a State-rights man and a Democrat—as for many years it has been my pride to acknowledge our venerable Chief Magistrate to be—then another line of policy should have been taken. The Constitution gave no power to the Federal Government to coerce a State; the Constitution gave an army for the purposes of common defense, and to preserve domestic tranquillity; but the Constitution never contemplated using that army against a State. A State exercising the sovereign function of secession is beyond the reach of the Federal Government, unless we woo her with the voice of fraternity, and bring her back to the enticements of affection. One policy or the other should have been taken; and it is not for me to say which, though my opinion is well known; but one policy or the other should have been pursued. He should have brought his opinion to one conclusion

or another, and to-day our country would have been safer than it is.

What is the message before us? Does it benefit the case? Is there a solution offered here? We are informed in it of propositions made by commissioners from South Carolina. We are not informed even as to how they terminated. No countervailing proposition is presented; no suggestion is made. We are left drifting loosely, without chart or compass.

There is, in our recent history, however, an event which might have suggested a policy to be pursued. When foreigners, having no citizenship within the United States, declared war against it, and made war upon it; when the inhabitants of a Territory disgraced by institutions offensive to the law of every State of the Union held this attitude of rebellion; when the Executive there had power to use troops, he first sent commissioners of peace to win them back to their duty. When South Carolina, a sovereign State, resumes the grants she had delegated; when South Carolina stands in an attitude which threatens within a short period to involve the country in a civil war, unless the policy of the Government be changed—no suggestion is made to us that this Government might send commissioners to her; no suggestion is made to us that better information should be sought; there is no policy of peace, but we are told the Army and the Navy are in the hands of the President of the United States, to be used against those who assail the power of the Federal Government.

Then, my friends, are we to allow events to drift onward to this fatal consummation? Are we to do nothing to restore peace? Shall we not, in addition to the proposition I have already made, to withdraw the force which complicates the question, send commissioners there in order that we may learn what this community desire, what this community will do, and put the two Governments upon friendly relations?

I will not weary the Senate by going over the argument of coercion. My friend from Ohio, [Mr. PUGH,] I may say, has exhausted the subject. I thank him, because it came appropriately from one not identified by his position with South Carolina. It came more effectively from him than it would have done from me, had I (as I have not) a power to present it as forcibly as he has done. Sirs, let me say, among the painful reflections which have crowded upon me by day and by night, none have weighed more heavily upon my heart than the reflection that our separation severs the ties which have so long bound

us to our northern friends, of whom we are glad to recognize the Senator as a type.

Now let us return a moment to consider what would have been the state of the case if the garrison at Charleston had been withdrawn. The fort would have stood there—not dismantled, but unoccupied. It would have stood there in the hands of an ordnance sergeant. Commissioners would have come to treat of all questions with the Federal Government, of these forts as well as others. They would have remained there to answer the ends for which they were constructed—the ends of defense. If South Carolina was an independent State, then she might hold to us such a relation as Rhode Island held the dissolution of the Confederation and before the formation of the Union, when Rhode Island appealed to the sympathies existing between the States connected in the struggles of the Revolution, and asked that a commercial war should not be waged upon her. These forts would have stood there then to cover the harbor of a friendly State; and if the feeling which once existed among the people of the States had subsisted still, and that fort had been attacked, brave men from every section would have rushed to the rescue, and there imperiled their lives in the defense of a State identified with their early history, and still associated in their breasts with affection; and the first act of this time would have been one appealing to every generous motive of those people again to reconsider the question of how we could live together, and through that bloody ordeal to have brought us into the position in which our fathers left us. There could have been no collision; there could have been no question of property which that State was not ready to meet. If it was a question of dollars and cents, they came here to adjust it. If it was a question of covering an interior State, their interests were identical. In whatever way the question could have been presented, the consequence would have been to relieve the Government of the charge of maintaining the fort, and to throw it upon the State which had resolved to be independent.

Thus we see that no evil could have resulted. We have yet to learn what evil the opposite policy may bring. Telegraphic intelligence, by the man who occupied the seat on the right of me in the old Chamber, was never relied on. He was the wisest man I ever knew—a man whose prophetic vision foretold all the trials through which we are now passing; whose clear intellect elaborating everything, borrowing nothing from anybody, seemed to dive into the future, and to unvail those things which are hidden to other eyes. Need I say I mean Calhoun? No other

man than he would have answered this description. I say, then, not relying upon telegraphic dispatches, we still have information enough to notify us that we are on the verge of civil war; that civil war is in the hands of men irresponsible, as it seems to us; their acts unknown to us; their discretion not covered by any existing law or usage; and we now have the responsibility thrown upon us, which justifies us in demanding information to meet an emergency in which the country is involved.

Is there any point of pride which prevents us from withdrawing that garrison? I have heard it said by a gallant gentleman, to whom I make no special reference, that the great objection was an unwillingness to lower the flag. To lower the flag! Under what circumstances? Does any man's courage impel him to stand boldly forth to take the life of his brethren? Does any man insist upon going upon the open field with deadly weapons to fight his brother on a question of courage? There is no point of pride. These are your brethren; and they have shed as much glory upon that flag as any equal number of men in the Union. They are the men, and that is the locality, where the first Union flag was unfurled, and where was fought a gallant battle before our independence was declared—not the flag with thirteen stripes and thirty-three stars, but a flag with a cross of St. George, and the long stripes running through it. When the gallant Moultrie took the British Fort Johnson, and carried it, for the first time, I believe, did the Union flag fly in the air; and that was in October, 1775. When he took the position and threw up a temporary battery with palmetto logs and sand, upon the site called Fort Moultrie, that fort was assailed by the British fleet, and bombarded until the old logs, clinging with stern tenacity to the enemy that assailed them, were filled with balls, the flag still floated there, and, though many bled, the garrison conquered. Those old logs are gone; the eroding current is even taking away the site where Fort Moultrie stood; the gallant men who held it, now mingle with the earth; but their memories live in the hearts of a gallant people, and their sons yet live, and they, like their fathers, are ready to bleed and to die for the cause in which their fathers triumphed. Glorious are the memories clinging around that old fort which now, for the first time, has been abandoned—abandoned not even in the presence of a foe, but under the imaginings that a foe might come; and guns spiked and carriages burned where the band of Moultrie bled, and, with an insufficient armament, repelled the common foe of all the colonies. Her ancient history compares proudly with the present.

Can there, then, be a point of pride upon so sacred a soil as this, where the blood of the fathers cries to Heaven against civil war? Can there be a point of pride against laying upon that sacred soil to-day the flag for which our fathers died? My pride, Senators, is different. My pride is that that flag shall not set between contending brothers; and that, when it shall no longer be the common flag of the country, it shall be folded up and laid away like a vesture no longer used; that it shall be kept as a sacred memento of the past, to which each of us can make a pilgrimage, and remember the glorious days in which we were born.

In the answer of the commissioners, which I caused to be read yesterday, I observed that they referred to Fort Sumter as remaining a memento of Carolina faith. It is an instance of the accuracy of the opinion which I have expressed. It stood without a garrison. It commanded the harbor, and the fort was known to have the armament in it capable of defense. Did the Carolinians attack it? Did they propose to seize it? It stood there safe as public property; and there it might have stood to the end of the negotiations without a question, if a garrison had not been sent into it. It was the faith on which they relied, that the Federal Government would take no position of hostility to them, that constituted its safety, and by which they lost the advantage they would have had in seizing it when unoccupied. I think that something is due to faith as well as fraternity; and I think one of the increasing and accumulative obligations upon us to withdraw the garrison from that fort is from the manner in which it was taken—taken, as we heard by the reading of the paper yesterday, while Carolina remained under the assurance that the *status* would not be violated; while I was under that assurance, and half a dozen other Senators now within the sound of my voice felt secure under the same pledge, that nothing would be done until negotiations had terminated, unless it was to withdraw the garrison. Then we, the Federal Government, broke the faith; we committed the first act of hostility; and from this first act of hostility arose all those acts to which reference is made in the message as unprovoked aggressions—the seizing of forts elsewhere. Why were they seized? Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and when they no longer had confidence that this Federal Government would not seize the forts constructed for their defense, and use them for their destruction, they only obeyed the dictates of self-preservation when they seized the forts to prevent the enemy from taking possession of them as a means of coercion, for they then were

compelled to believe this Federal Government had become an enemy.

Now, what is the remedy? To assure them that you do not intend to use physical force against them is your first remedy; to assure them that you intend to consider calmly all the propositions which they make, and to recognize the rights which the Union was established to secure; that you intend to settle with them upon a basis in accordance with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. When you do that, peace will prevail over the land, and force become a thing that no man will consider necessary.

I am here confronted with a question which I will not argue. The position which I have taken necessarily brings me to its consideration. Without arguing it, I will merely state it. It is the right of a State to withdraw from the Union. The President says it is not a constitutional right. The Senator from Ohio, [Mr. WADE,] and his ally, the Senator from Tennessee, argued it as no right at all. Well, let us see. What is meant by a constitutional right? Is it meant to be a right derived from the Constitution—a grant made in the Constitution? If that is what is meant, of course we all see at once we do not derive it in that way. Is it intended that it is not a constitutional right, because it is not granted in the Constitution? That shows, indeed, but a poor appreciation of the nature of our Government. All that is not granted in the Constitution belongs to the States; and nothing but what is granted in the Constitution belongs to the Federal Government; and keeping this distinction in view, it requires but little argument to see the conclusion at which we necessarily arrive. Did the State surrender their sovereignty to the Federal Government? Did the States agree that they never could withdraw from the Federal Union?

I know it has been argued here, that the Confederation said the Articles of Confederation were to be a perpetual bond of Union, and that the Constitution was made to form a more perfect Union; that is to say, a Government beyond perpetuity, or one day, or two or three days after doomsday. But that has no foundation in the Constitution itself; it has no basis in the nature of our Government. The Constitution was a compact between independent States; it was not a national Government; and hence Mr. Madison answered with such effectiveness to Patrick Henry, in the convention of Virginia, which ratified the Constitution, denying his proposition that it was to form a nation, and stating to him the conclusive fact, that "we sit here as a convention of the State to ratify or reject that Constitution; and

how then can you say that it forms a nation, and is adopted by the mass of the people." It was not adopted by the mass of the people, as we all know, historically; it was adopted by each State; each State voluntarily ratifying it, entered the Union; and that Union was formed whenever nine States should enter it; and in abundance of caution, it was stated in the resolutions of ratification of three of the States, that they still possessed the power to withdraw the grants which they had delegated, whenever they should be used to their injury or oppression. I know it is said that this meant the people of all the States; but that is such an absurdity that I suppose it hardly necessary to answer it; or to speak of an elective government rendering itself injurious and oppressive to the whole body of the people by whom it is elected is such an absurdity, that no man can believe it; and to suppose that a State convention, speaking for a State, having no authority to speak for anybody else, would say that it was declaring what the people of the other States would do, would be an assumption altogether derogatory to the sound sense and well-known sentiments of the men who formed the Constitution and ratified it.

But in abundance of caution not only was this done, but the tenth amendment of the Constitution declared that all which had not been delegated was reserved to the States or to the people. Now, I ask where among the delegated grants to the Federal Government do you find any power to coerce a State; where among the provisions of the Constitution do you find any prohibition on the part of a State to withdraw; and if you find neither one nor the other, must not this power be in that great depository, the reserved rights of the States? How was it ever taken out of that source of all power to the Federal Government? It was not delegated to the Federal Government; it was not prohibited to the States; it necessarily remains, then, among the reserved powers of the States.

This question has been so forcibly argued by the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. BENJAMIN,] that I think it unnecessary to pursue it. Three times the proposition was made to give power to coerce a State, in the convention, and as often refused; opposed as a proposition to make war on a State, and refused on the ground that the Federal Government could not make war upon a State. The Constitution was to form a Government for such States as should unite; it had no application beyond those who should voluntarily adopt it. Among the delegated powers there is none which interferes with the exercise of the right of secession by a State. As a right of sovereignty it remained to

the States under the Confederation; and if it did not, you arraign the faith of the men who framed the Constitution to which you appeal, for they provided that nine States could secede from thirteen. Eleven did secede from the thirteen, and put themselves in the very position which, by a great abuse of language, is to-day called treason, against the two States of North Carolina and Rhode Island, they still claiming to adhere to the perpetual Articles of Confederation, these eleven States absolving themselves from the obligations which arose under them.

The Senator from Tennessee, to whom I must refer again—and I do so because he is a southern Senator—taking the most hostile ground against us, refers to the State of Tennessee, and points to the time when that State may do those things which he has declared it an absurdity for any State to perform. I will read a single paragraph from his speech, showing what his language is, in order that I may not, by any possibility, produce an impression upon others which his language does not justify. Here are the expressions to which I refer. I call the Senator's attention to them:

"If there are grievances, why cannot we all go together, and write them down, and point them out to our northern friends after we have agreed on what those grievances were, and say, 'here is what we demand; here our wrongs are enumerated; upon these terms we have agreed; and now, after we have given you a reasonable time to consider these additional guarantees in order to protect ourselves against these wrongs, if you refuse them, then, having made an honorable effort—having exhausted all other means—we may declare the association to be broken up, and we may go into an act of revolution?' We can then say to them, 'you have refused to give us guarantees that we think are needed for the protection of our institutions and for the protection of our other interests.' When they do this, I will go as far as he who goes the furthest."

Now, it does appear that he will go that far; and he goes a little further than anybody, I believe, who has spoken in vindication of the right, for he says:

"We do not intend that you shall drive us out of this house that was reared by the hands of our fathers. It is our house. It is the constitutional house. We have a right here, and because you come forward and violate the ordinances of this house, I do not intend to go out; and if you persist in the violation of the ordinances of the house, we intend to eject you from the building and retain the possession ourselves."

I wonder if this is what caused the artillery companies to be ordered here, and the militia of this city to be organized. I think it was a mere figure of speech. I do not believe the Senator from Tennessee intended to kick you out of the house; and if he did, let me say to you, in all sincerity, we who claim the constitutional right of a State to withdraw from the Union, do not intend to help him. He says, however, and this softens it a little:

"We do not think, though, that we have just cause for going out of the Union now. We have just cause of complaint; but we are for remaining in the Union, and fighting the battle like men."

What does that mean? In the name of common sense, I ask how are we to fight in the Union? We take an oath of office to maintain the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution of the United States was formed for domestic tranquillity; and how, then, are we to fight in the Union? I have heard the proposition from others; but I have not understood it. I understand how men fight when they assume attitudes of hostility; but I do not understand how men remaining connected together in a bond as brethren, sworn to mutual aid and protection, still propose to fight each other. I do not understand what the Senator means. If he chooses to answer my question, I am willing to hear him, for I do not understand how we are to fight in the Union.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Tennessee. When my speech is taken altogether, I think my meaning can be very easily understood. What I mean by fighting the battle in the Union, is, I think, very distinctly and clearly set forth in my speech; and if the Senator will take it from beginning to end, I apprehend that he will have no difficulty in ascertaining what I meant. But, for his gratification upon this particular point, I will repeat, in substance, what I then said as to fighting the battle in the Union. I meant that we should remain here under the Constitution of the United States, and contend for all its guarantees; and by preserving the Constitution and all its guarantees we would preserve the Union. Our true place to maintain these guarantees, and to preserve the Constitution, is in the Union, there to fight our battle. How? By argument; by appeals to the patriotism, to the good sense, and to the judgment of the whole country; by showing the people that the Constitution had been violated; that all its guarantees were not complied with; and I have entertained the hope that

when they were possessed of that fact, there would be found patriotism and honesty enough in the great mass of the people, north and south, to come forward and do what was just and right between the contending sections of the country. I meant that the true way to fight the battle was for us to remain here and occupy the places assigned to us by the Constitution of the country. Why did I make that statement? It was because, on the 4th day of March next, we shall have six majority in this body; and if, as some apprehended, the incoming Administration shall show any disposition to make encroachments upon the institution of slavery, encroachments upon the rights of the States, or any other violation of the Constitution, we, by remaining in the Union, and standing at our places, will have the power to resist all these encroachments. How? We have the power even to reject the appointment of the Cabinet officers of the incoming President. Then, should we not be fighting the battle in the Union, by resisting even the organization of the Administration in a constitutional mode; and thus, at the very start, disable an Administration which was likely to encroach on our rights and to violate the Constitution of the country? So far as appointing even a minister abroad is concerned, the incoming Administration will have no power without our consent, if we remain here. It comes into office handcuffed, powerless to do harm. We, standing here, hold the balance of power in our hands; we can resist it at the very threshold effectually; and do it inside of the Union, and in our house. The incoming Administration has not even the power to appoint a postmaster whose salary exceeds $1,000 a year, without consultation with, and the acquiescence of, the Senate of the United States. The President has not even the power to draw his salary —his $25,000 per annum—unless we appropriate it. I contend, then, that the true place to fight the battle is in the Union, and within the provisions of the Constitution. The Army and Navy cannot be sustained without appropriations by Congress; and if we were apprehensive that encroachments would be made on the southern States and on their institutions, in violation of the Constitution, we could prevent him from having a dollar even to feed his Army or his Navy.

Mr. DAVIS. I receive the answer from the Senator, and I think I comprehend now that he is not going to use any force, but it is a sort of fighting that is to be done by votes and words; and I think, therefore, the President need not bring artillery and order out the militia to suppress them. I think, altogether,

we are not in danger of much bloodshed in the mode proposed by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Tennessee. I had not quite done; but if the Senator is satisfied——

Mr. DAVIS. Quite satisfied. I am entirely satisfied that the answer of the Senator shows me he did not intend to fight at all; that it was a mere figure of speech, and does not justify converting the Federal capital into a military camp. But it is a sort of revolution which he proposes; it is a revolution under the forms of the Government. Now, I have to say, once for all, that, as long as I am a Senator here, I will not use the powers I possess to destroy the very Government to which I am accredited. I will not attempt, in the language of the Senator, to handcuff the President. I will not attempt to destroy the Administration by refusing any officers to administer its functions. I should vote, as I have done to Administrations to which I stood in nearest relation, against a bad nomination; but I never would agree, under the forms of the Constitution, and with the powers I bear as a Senator of the United States, to turn those powers to the destruction of the Government I was sworn to support. I leave that to gentlemen who take the oath with a mental reservation. It is not my policy. If I must have revolution, I say let it be a revolution such as our fathers made when they were denied their natural rights.

So much for that. It has quieted apprehension; and I hope that the artillery will not be brought here; that the militia will not be called out; and that the female schools will continue their sessions as heretofore. [Laughter.] The authority of Mr. Madison, however, was relied on by the Senator from Tennessee; and he read fairly an extract from Mr. Madison's letter to Mr. Webster, and I give him credit for reading what it seems to me destroys his whole argument. It is this clause:

"The powers of the Government being exercised, as in other elective and responsible Governments, under the control of its constituents, the people, and the Legislatures of the States, and subject to the revolutionary rights of the people in extreme cases."

Now, sir, we are confusing language very much. Men speak of revolution; and when they say revolution, they mean blood. Our fathers meant nothing of the sort. When they spoke of revolution, they spoke of an inalienable right. When they declared as an inalienable right the power of the people to abro-

gate and modify their form of Government whenever it did not answer the ends for which it was established, they did not mean that they were to sustain that by brute force. They meant that it was a right; and force could only be invoked when that right was wrongfully denied. Great Britain denied the right in the case of the colonies; and therefore our revolution for independence was bloody. If Great Britain had admitted the great American doctrine, there would have been no blood shed; and does it become the descendants of those who proclaimed this as the great principle on which they took their place among the nations of the earth, now to proclaim, if that is a right, it is one which you can only get as the subjects of the Emperor of Austria may get their rights, by force overcoming force? Are we, in this age of civilization and political progress, when political philosophy had advanced to the point which seemed to render it possible that the millennium should now be seen by prophetic eyes; are we now to roll back the whole current of human thought, and again to return to the mere brute force which prevails between beasts of prey, as the only method of settling questions between men?

If the Declaration of Independence be true, (and who here gainsays it?) every community may dissolve its connection with any other community previously made, and have no other obligation than that which results from the breach of any alliance between States. Is it to be supposed; could any man reasoning *a priori* come to the conclusion that the men who fought the battles of the Revolution for community independence—that the men who struggled against the then greatest military Power on the face of the globe in order that they might possess those inalienable rights which they had declared—terminated their great efforts by transmitting posterity to a condition in which they could only gain those rights by force? If so, the blood of the Revolution was shed in vain; no great principles were established; for force was the law of nature before the battles of the Revolution were fought.

I see, then—if gentlemen insist on using the word "revolution" in the sense of a resort to force—a very great difference between their opinion and that of Mr. Madison. Mr. Madison put the rights of the people over and above everything else; and he said this was the Government *de jure* and *de facto*. Call it what name you will, he understood ours to be a Government of the people. The people never have separated themselves from those rights which our fathers had declared to be inalienable. They did not delegate to the Federal Government the powers

which the British Crown exercised over the colonies; they did not achieve their independence for any purpose so low as that. They left us to the inheritance of freemen, living in independent communities, the States united for the purposes which they thought would bless posterity. It is in the exercise of this reserved right as defined by Mr. Madison, as one to which all the powers of Government are subject, that the people of a State in convention have claimed to resume the functions which in like manner they had made to the Federal Government.

I pass from the argument of this question, which I have previously said I did not intend to enter into at large, to ask, why is the right denied? It is part of the history of our times, it is part of the condition of the country, that the right is denied, because this conflict between sections, in which one was struggling for domination, the other for existence, has been brought to the point where the dominant section insists that it will hold the other for its purposes; where it claims that we shall not go in peace, nor remain with our rights; and if the attempt be made to hold that position by force, we accept the wager of battle.

Mississippi, in her brief history, claims to have shown at Pensacola and New Orleans something of the spirit of the freemen who achieved our independence. I was reared in a county where, when the soil of a neighboring State was invaded by a powerful foe, the draft was who should stay at home, not who should go. I also have the satisfaction to know that the present generation have not derogated from the history of those who went before it. From many a bloody field, both in foreign and Indian war, has ascended the proud spirit of a Mississippian enshrined in glory, whence they look down upon us to vindicate the honorable fame of our State; and every heart beats true to the impulse of pride and the dictate of duty. If this right were admitted, we should have less cause to exercise it than we have. If admitted, there would be less danger from a dominant section than there is; there would be less tendency to use power, when it was acquired, to the injury of others. The denial of the right is a grievance inflicted on all who fear that power will be used for aggression. The concession of the right might delay its exercise; and at the same time would restrain the dominant section from abusing its power so as to drive others to resort to it. Why is the right denied? It is an impractical question at best. If you take us out of the history of our country, throw us into a broad discussion of the natural rights of man, we may answer by the facts which are being enacted. States have gone out; and what is the use of arguing their right? The only questions

which remain are for yourselves: first, have you the right to coerce them back? and secondly, have you the power?

My friend from Louisiana, in closing his remarks, referred to the disastrous scenes which might be occasioned by the invasion of the South. He did not offer the other side of the picture; and yet I have seen that, in northern papers, he has been criticised for saying even what he did. There is, however, another side to the picture. An army with banners would do but little harm in marching through a country of plantations. They would have but little power to subsist themselves in a sparsely settled region. They would find it hard to feed the army with which they invaded, and would have no power to bring away prisoners and fugitives. How stands it on the other side? In a country of populous cities, of manufacturing towns, where population is gathered from the country into towns and villages, the torch and sword can do their work with dreadful havoc, and starving millions would weep at the stupidity of those who had precipitated them into so sad a policy.

We do not desire these things. We seek not the injury of any one. We seek not to disturb your prosperity. We, at least to a great extent, have from time to time looked to our agricultural labor as that to which we prefer to adhere. We have seen, in the diversity of the occupations of the States, the bond of Union. We have rejoiced in your prosperity. We have sent you our staples, and purchased your manufactured articles. We have used your ships for the purpose of transport and navigation. We have gloried in the extension of American commerce everywhere; have felt proud as yourselves in every achievement you made in art; on every sea that you carried your flag in regions to which it had hitherto not been borne; and, if we must leave you, we can leave you still with the good-will which would prefer that your prosperity should continue. If we must part, I say we can put our relations upon that basis which will give you the advantage of a favored trade with us, and still make the intercourse mutually beneficial to each other. If you will not, then it is an issue from which we will not shrink; for, between oppression and freedom, between the maintenance of right and submission to power, we will invoke the God of battles, and meet our fate, whatever it may be.

I was reading, a short time ago, an extract from the speech of the Senator from Tennessee which referred to the time when "we"—I suppose it means Tennessee—would take the position which it was said to be an absurdity for South Carolina to hold. How can the change of names thus affect the question; and who

is to judge in the case? Tennessee still was put, in the same speech, in the attitude of a great objector against the exercise of the right of secession. Is there anything in her history which thus places her? Tennessee, born of secession, rocked in the cradle of revolution, taking her position before she was matured, and claiming to be a State because she had violently severed her connection with North Carolina, and through an act of secession and revolution, claimed to have become a State. I honor her for it. I honor the gallant old Sevier for maintaining the rights of which North Carolina attempted to deprive him, and I admire the talent which made recruits from every army which was sent to subdue him. Washington and Jackson, too, are often presented as authority against it—Washington, who led the army of the Revolution; Washington, whose reputation rests upon the fact that with the sword he cut the cord which bound the Colonies to Great Britain, they not having the justification of the sovereign attributes belonging to States; Washington, who presided when the States seceded from the Confederation, and formed the Union, in disregard of the claims of the States not agreeing to it; and Jackson, glorious old soldier, who, in his minority, upon the sacred soil of South Carolina, bled for the cause of revolution and the overthrow of a Government which he believed to be oppressive; who, through his whole life, indicated the same cast of character, standing in an attitude which to-day would be called rebellion and treason, when he opposed the Federal Government, denied their power, contemned their orders to disband his troops, threatened to put any officer in irons who came into his camp to recruit, and marched his force, the Tennessee militia, back from Washington in Mississippi, to the place whence they had started. Bad authorities are these for our opponents; yet they are names under the shadow of which we can safely repose!

If we were reduced to arguing the question on the ground of expediency; if we had to convince the dominant section that it was good for them that their best customers should leave them; if we had to convince them that they should not any longer have the power to tax us, that they should not collect the revenue which fills the Treasury and builds up their vast public works, I fear we should not succeed; but if they are sincere in believing that we are of no advantage to them; if they look upon the southern States as a burden; if they think we require their protection, then we are ready to relieve them.

The question which now presents itself to the country is, what shall we do with events as they stand? Shall we allow this

separation to be total? Shall we render it peaceful, with a view to the chance that when hunger shall brighten the intellects of men, and the teachings of hard experience shall have tamed them, they may come back, in the spirit of our fathers, to the task of reconstruction? Or will they have that separation partial; will they give to each State all its military power; will they give to each State its revenue power; will they still preserve the common agent; and will they thus carry on a Government different from that which now exists, yet not separating the States so entirely as to make the work of reconstruction equal to a new creation; not separating them so as to render it utterly impossible to administer any functions of the Government in security and peace?

I waive the question of duality, considering that a dual Executive would be the institution of a king-lord. I consider a dual legislative department would be to bring into antagonism the representatives of two different countries, to war perpetually, and thus to continue, not union, but the irrepressible conflict. There is no duality possible (unless there be two Confederacies) which seems to me consistent with the interests of either or of both. It might be that two Confederacies could be so organized as to answer jointly many of the ends of our present Union; it might be that States, agreeing with each other in their internal polity—having a similarity of interests and an identity of purpose—might associate together; and that these two Confederacies might have relations to each other so close as to give them a united power in time of war against any foreign nation. These things are possibilities; these things it becomes us to contemplate; these things it devolves on the majority section to consider now; for with every motion of that clock is passing away your opportunity. It was greater when we met on the first Monday in December than it is now; it is greater now than it will be on the first day of next week. We have waited long; we have come to the conclusion that you mean to do nothing. In the committee of thirteen, where the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CRITTENDEN] were considered, various attempts were made, but no prospect of any agreement on which it was possible for us to stand, in security for the future, could be matured. I offered a proposition, which was but the declaration of that which the Constitution announces; but that which the Supreme Court had, from time to time, and from an early period, asserted; but that which was necessary for equality in the Union. Not one single vote of the Republican portion of that committee was given for the proposition.

Looking then upon separation as inevitable, not knowing how that separation is to occur, or at least what States it is to embrace, there remains to us, I believe, as the consideration which is most useful, the inquiry, how can this separation be effected so as to leave to us the power, whenever we shall have the will, to reconstruct? It can only be done by adopting a policy of peace. It can only be done by denying to the Federal Government all power to coerce. It can only be done by returning to the point from which we started, and saying, "This is a Government of fraternity, a Government of consent; and it shall not be administered in a departure from those principles."

I do not regard the failure of our constitutional Union, as very many do, to be the failure of self-government; to be conclusive in all future time of the unfitness of man to govern himself. Our State governments have charge of nearly all the relations of person and property. This Federal Government was instituted mainly as a common agent for foreign purposes, for free trade among the States, and for common defense. Representative liberty will remain in the States after they are separated. Liberty was not crushed by the separation of the colonies from the mother country, then the most constitutional monarchy and the freest Government known. Still less will liberty be destroyed by the separation of these States to prevent the destruction of the spirit of the Constitution by the maladministration of it. There will be injury—injury to all; differing in degree, differing in manner. The injury to the manufacturing and navigating States will be to their internal prosperity. The injury to the southern States will be mainly to their foreign commerce. All will feel the deprivation of that high pride and power which belong to the flag now representing the greatest Republic, if not the greatest Government, upon the face of the globe. I would that it still remained to consider what we might calmly have considered on the first Monday in December—how this could be avoided; but events have rolled past that point. You would not make propositions when they would have been effective. I presume you will not make them now; and I know not what effect they would have if you did. Your propositions would have been most welcome if they had been made before any question of coercion, and before any vain boasting of power; for pride and passion do not often take counsel of pecuniary interest, at least among those whom I represent. But you have chosen to take the policy of clinging to words, in disregard of events, and have hastened them onwards. It is true, as shown by the history of all revolutions, that they

are most precipitated and intensified by obstinacy and vacillation. The want of a policy, the obstinate adherence to unimportant things, have brought us to a condition where I close my eyes, because I cannot see anything that encourages me to hope.

In the long period which elapsed after the downfall of the great Republics of the East, when despotism seemed to brood over the civilized world, and only here and there constitutional monarchy even was able to rear its head; when all the great principles of republican and representative government had sunk deep, fathomless, into the sea of human events; it was then that the storm of our Revolution moved the waters. The earth, the air, and the sea, became brilliant; and from the foam of ages rose the constellation which was set in the political firmament as a sign of unity and confederation and community independence, coexistent with confederate strength. That constellation has served to bless our people. Nay, more; its light has been thrown on foreign lands, and its regenerative power will outlive, perhaps, the Government as a sign for which it was set. It may be pardoned to me, sir, who, in my boyhood, was given to the military service, and who have followed under tropical suns, and over northern snows, the flag of the Union, suffering from it as it does not become me to speak it, if I here express the deep sorrow which always overwhelms me when I think of taking a last leave of that object of early affection and proud association, feeling that henceforth it is not to be the banner which, by day and by night, I am ready to follow, to hail with the rising and bless with the setting sun. But God, who knows the hearts of men, will judge between you and us, at whose door lies the responsibility of this. Men will see the efforts I have made, here and elsewhere; that I have been silent when words would not avail, and have curbed an impatient temper, and hoped that conciliatory counsels might do that which I knew could not be effected by harsh means. And yet the only response which has come from the other side has been a stolid indifference, as though it mattered not, "let the temple fall, we do not care." Sirs, remember that such conduct is offensive, and that men may become indifferent even to the objects of their early attachments.

If our Government shall fail, it will not be the defect of the system, though its mechanism was wonderful, surpassing that which the solar system furnishes for our contemplation; for it had had no center of gravitation; each planet was set to revolve in an orbit of its own, each moving by its own impulse, and all attracted by the affections which countervailed each other. It has been the perversion of the Constitution; it has been the

substitution of theories of morals for principles of government; it has been forcing crude opinions about things not understood upon the domestic institutions of other men, which has disturbed these planets in their orbit; it is this which threatens to destroy the constellation which, in its power and its glory, had been gathering one after another, until, from thirteen, it had risen to thirty-three stars.

If we accept the argument of to-day in favor of coercion as the theory of our Government, its only effect will be to precipitate men who have pride and self-reliance into the assertion of the freedom and independence to which they were born. Our fathers would never have entered into a confederate Government which had within itself the power of coercion. I would not agree to remain one day in such a Government after I had the power to get out of it. To argue that a man who follows the mandate of his State, resuming her sovereign jurisdiction and power, is disloyal to his allegiance to the United States, which allegiance he only owed through his State, is such a confusion of ideas as does not belong to an ordinary comprehension of our Government. It is treason to the principle of community independence. It is to recur to that doctrine of passive obedience which, in England, cost one monarch his head, and drove another into exile; a doctrine which, since the revolution of 1688, has obtained nowhere where men speak the English tongue; and yet all this it is needful to admit before we accept this doctrine of coercion, which is to send an Army and a Navy to do that which there are no courts to perform; to execute the law without a judicial decision, and without an officer to serve process. This, I say, would degrade us to the basest despotism under which man could live; the despotism of a many-headed monster, without the sensibility or regardful consideration which might belong to a hereditary king.

But the Senator found somewhere, I believe in Georgia, a newspaper article which suggested the advantages of a constitutional monarchy. Does the Senator believe there is any considerable number of people in any of the States who favor the establishment of a constitutional monarchy? If so, let me at once, speaking with that assurance which is given to me by those knowing more of that people than myself, say that the apprehension is vain. I am sure that the same feeling prevails in that State as my own; the same which exists in his State of Tennessee; and in each of them there are many like the Lucius Junius——

———"that would have brooked
The eternal Devil to keep his state in Rome,
As easily as a King."

Mr. IVERSON. As allusion has been made by the Senator from Mississippi to an article which appeared in a paper in my own town, and about which a good deal of noise has been made, and which was referred to by the Senator from Tennessee, in his celebrated speech, the other day, as evidence that there was a party in the South in favor of a constitutional monarchy, I take the liberty to say that that was a communication merely to the paper, and that it slipped in without the knowledge and consent of the proprietors of the paper; and in the very next paper the editors disclaimed and denounced it. I will take the opportunity to say, in conjunction with what the Senator from Mississippi has said, that there is not one man in a million, as far as I know and believe, in the State of Georgia, or elsewhere in the South, who would be in favor of any such principle.

Mr. DAVIS. If, Mr. President, a paper containing such a doctrine could subsist upon subscription anywhere in the United States, I should esteem it nearly as bad an indication as the adoption of the doctrine of slavish submission; and either the one or the other I should consider a far worse sign of man's incapacity to govern himself than any which is presented by the resumption of the grants that a State has made. I have no idea that there is any such feeling within the limits of the southern States.

There are two modes, however, of dissolving the Union. One alone has been contemplated. It was that which proceeded from States separating themselves from those to whom they are united. There is another. It is by destroying the Constitution; by pulling down the political temple; by forming a consolidated Government. Union, in the very meaning of the word, implies the junction of separate States. Consolidation would be the destruction of the Union, and far more fatal to popular liberty than the separation of the States. But, if fanaticism and sectionalism, like the blind giant of old, shall seize the pillars of the temple to tear them down, in order that they may destroy its inmates, it but remains for us to withdraw, and it will be our purpose to commence the erection of another on the same plan on which our fathers built this. We share no such common ruin as falls upon a people by consolidation and destruction of the principles of liberty contained in the Constitution, by interference with community and social rights; and we go out of

such a Government whenever it takes that form, in accordance with the Constitution, and in defense of the principles on which that Constitution rests. We have warned you for many years that you would drive us to this alternative, and you would not heed. I believe that you still look upon it as a mere passing political move, as a device for some party end, knowing little of the deep struggle with which we have contemplated this as a necessity, not as a choice, when we have been brought to stand before the alternative—the destruction of our community independence, or the destruction of that Union which our fathers made. You would not heed us. You deemed our warning to be merely to the end of electing a candidate for the miserable spoils of office, of which I am glad to say I represent a people who have had so little indeed that they have never acquired an appetite for them. Yet you have believed—not looking to the great end to which our eyes were directed—that it was a mere political resort, by which we would intimidate some of your own voters. You have turned upon those true friends of ours at the North who have vindicated the Constitution, and pointed out to you the danger of your course, and held them responsible for the censure you received, as though you had not, in fact, aggressed. Even at this session, after forty years of debate, you have asked us what was the matter.

Your platform on which you elected your candidate denies us equality. Your votes refuse to recognize our domestic institutions which preëxisted the formation of the Union, our property which was guarded by the Constitution. You refuse us that equality without which we should be degraded if we remained in the Union. You elect a candidate upon the basis of sectional hostility; one who, in his speeches, now thrown broadcast over the country, made a distinct declaration of war upon our institutions. We care not whether that war be made by armies marching for invasion, or whether it be by proclamation, or whether it be by indirect and covert process. In both modes, however, you have declared your hostility. The leading members of that party, some of them now before me, making speeches in various portions of the country during the last summer, even after the election was over, when no purpose of the canvass remained still to excite them, announcing the triumph which had been achieved, as the downfall of our domestic institutions; and still you ask us to make specifications, to file an indictment as though we intended to arraign you before a magistrate's court. Our fathers united with yours on the basis of equality,

and they were prompted to form a union by the fraternity which existed between them. Do you admit that equality? Do you feel that fraternity? Do your actions show it? They united for the purpose not only of domestic tranquillity, but for common defense; and the debates in the convention which formed the Constitution set forth that the navigating and manufacturing interests of one section, and the better defense in the other, were the two great objects which drew them together. Are you willing now to fulfill the conditions on which our fathers agreed to unite?

When you use figurative language, its harshness indicates the severity of your temper and the bitterness of your hate. When you talk about having your heel on the slave power and grinding it into dust; when you talk about the final triumph; when you talk about the extinction of slavery, an institution with which you have nothing to do and of which you know nothing, is this the fraternity, is this the Union, to which we were invited? Is that an administration of the Government under which we can live in safety? Is this a condition of things to which men, through whose veins flows the blood of the Revolution, can stoop without acknowledging that they had sunk from their birthright of freedom to become slaves!

I care not to read from your platform; I care not to read from the speeches of your President elect. You know them as I do; and the man who is regarded over this country as the directing intellect of the party to which he belongs, the Senator from New York, [Mr. SEWARD,] has, with less harshness of expression than others, but with more of method, indicated this same purpose of deadly hostility in every form in which it could be portrayed. Did we unite with you in order that the powers of the General Government should be used for destroying our domestic institutions? Do you believe that now, in our increased and increasing commercial as well as physical power, we will consent to remain united to a Government exercised for such a purpose as this?

What boots it to tell me that no direct act of aggression will be made? I prefer direct to indirect hostile measures which will produce the same result. I prefer it, as I prefer an open to a secret foe. Is there a Senator upon the other side who to-day will agree that we shall have equal enjoyment of the Territories of the United States? Is there one who will deny that we have equally paid in their purchases, and equally bled in their acquisition in war? Then, is this the observance of your compact? Whose is the fault if the Union be dissolved? Do you say that

there is one of you who controverts either of these positions? Then I ask you, do you give us justice; do we enjoy equality? If we are not equals, this is not the Union to which we were pledged; this is not the Constitution you have sworn to maintain, nor this the Government we are bound to support.

There is much, too, which is exceedingly offensive in the speculations you make upon our servants when you talk about negro insurrection. Governments have tampered with slaves; bad men have gone among the ignorant and credulous people, and incited them to murder and arson; but of themselves—moving by themselves—I say history does not chronicle a case of negro insurrection. San Domingo, so often referred to, and so little understood, is not a case where black heroes rose and acquired a Government. It was a case in which the French Government, trampling upon the rights and safety of a distant and feeble colony by sending troops among them, brought on a revolution, first of the mulattoes, and afterwards of the blacks. Their first army was not even able to effect this. It required a second army, and that army to be quartered on the plantations; nay, after all, it required that the master should be arrested on the charge of treason and taken to France, before the negroes could be aroused to insurrection.

Do you wonder, then, that we pause when we see this studied tendency to convert the Government into a military despotism? Do you wonder that we question the right of the President to send troops to execute the laws wherever he pleases, when we remember the conduct of France, and that those troops were sent with like avowal, and quartered on plantations, and planters arrested for treason—just such charges as are made to-day against southern men—and brought away that insurrection might be instigated among their slaves?

I seek not to exasperate or intensify the causes of difficulty. It is needful that we should understand each other. I thought we had done so before, and was surprised to hear the question asked, "What is the matter?" The last canvass, I thought, had expressed the feelings and the opinions of the southern States. The State of Mississippi gave warning in solemn resolutions passed by her Legislature. Those resolutions were printed elsewhere, and were generally known. She declared her purpose to take counsel with her southern sister States whenever a President should be elected on the basis of sectional hostility to them. With all this warning, you paused not. The quarrel was not of our making. Our hands are stainless; you aggressed upon our

rights and our homes, and, under the will of God, we will defend them.

There is a strange similarity in the position of affairs at the present day to that which the colonists occupied. Lord North asserted the right to collect the revenue, and insisted on collecting it by force. He sent troops to Boston harbor, and to Charleston, and he quartered troops in those towns. The result was, collision, and out of that collision came the separation of the colonies from the mother country. The same thing is being attempted to-day. Not the law, not the civil magistrate, but troops, are relied upon now to execute the laws. To gather taxes in the southern ports, the Army and Navy must be sent to perform the functions of magistrates. It is the old case over again. Senators of the North, you are reënacting the blunders which statesmen in Great Britain committed; but among you, there are some who, like Chatham and Burke, though not of our section, yet are vindicating our rights.

I have heard, with some surprise, for it seemed to me idle, the repetition of the assertion heretofore made that the cause of the separation was the election of Mr. Lincoln. It may be a source of gratification to some gentlemen that their friend is elected; but no individual had the power to produce the existing state of things. It was the purpose, the end; it was the declaration by himself and his friends, which constitute the necessity of providing new safeguards for ourselves. The man was nothing, save as he was the representative of opinions, of a policy, of purposes, of power, to inflict upon us those wrongs to which freemen never tamely submit.

Senators, I have spoken longer than I desired. I had supposed it was possible, avoiding argument and not citing authority, to have made to you a brief address. It was thought useless to argue a question which now belongs to the past. The time is near at hand when the places which have known us as colleagues laboring together, can know us in that relation no more forever. I have striven to avert the catastrophe which now impends over the country, unsuccessfully; and I regret it. For the few days which I may remain, I am willing to labor in order that that catastrophe shall be as little as possible destructive to public peace and prosperity. If you desire at this last moment to avert civil war, so be it; it is better so. If you will but allow us to separate from you peaceably, since we cannot live peaceably together, to leave with the rights we had before we were united, since we cannot enjoy them in the Union, then there are many relations which may still subsist between us, drawn from the

associations of our struggles from the revolutionary era to the present day, which may be beneficial to you as well as to us.

If you will not have it thus; if in the pride of power, if in contempt of reason and reliance upon force, you say we shall not go, but shall remain as subjects to you, then, gentlemen of the North, a war is to be inaugurated the like of which men have not seen. Sufficiently numerous on both sides, in close contact with only imaginary lines of division, and with many means of approach, each sustained by productive sections, the people of which will give freely both of money and of store, the conflicts must be multiplied indefinitely; and masses of men, sacrificed to the demon of civil war, will furnish hecatombs, such as the recent campaign in Italy did not offer. At the end of all this, what will you have effected? Destruction upon both sides; subjugation upon neither; a treaty of peace leaving both torn and bleeding; the wail of the widow and the cry of the orphan substituted for those peaceful notes of domestic happiness that now prevail throughout the land; and then you will agree that each is to pursue his separate course as best he may. This is to be the end of war. Through a long series of years you may waste your strength, distress your people, and get at last to the position which you might have had at first, had justice and reason, instead of selfishness and passion, folly and crime, dictated your course.

Is there wisdom, is there patriotism in the land? If so, easy must be the solution of this question. If not, then Mississippi's gallant sons will stand like a wall of fire around their State; and I go hence, not in hostility to you, but in love and allegiance to her, to take my place among her sons, be it for good or for evil.

I shall probably never again attempt to utter here the language either of warning or of argument. I leave the case in your hands. If you solve it not before I go, you will have still to decide it. Towards you individually, as well as to those whom you represent, I would that I had the power now to say there shall be peace between us forever. I would that I had the power now to say the intercourse and the commerce between the States, if they cannot live in one Union, shall still be uninterrupted; that all the social relations shall remain undisturbed; that the son in Mississippi shall visit freely his father in Maine, and the reverse; and that each shall be welcomed when he goes to the other, not by himself alone, but also by his neighbors; and that all that kindly intercourse which has subsisted between the different sections of the Union shall continue to exist. It is not

only for the interest of all, but it is my profoundest wish, my sincerest desire, that such remnant of that which is passing away may grace the memory of a glorious, though too brief, existence.

Day by day you have become more and more exasperated. False reports have led you to suppose there was in our section hostility to you with manifestations which did not exist. In one case, I well remember when the Senator from Vermont [Mr. COLLAMER] was serving with me on a special committee, it was reported that a gentleman who had gone from a commercial house in New York had been inhumanly treated at Vicksburg, and this embarrassed a question which we then had pending. I wrote to Vicksburg for information, and my friends could not learn that such a man had ever been there; but if he had been there, no violence certainly had been offered to him. Falsehood and suspicion have thus led you on step by step in the career of crimination, and perhaps has induced to some part of your aggression. Such evil effects we have heretofore suffered, and the consequences now have their fatal culmination. On the verge of war, distrust and passion increase the danger. To-day it is in the power of two bad men, at the opposite ends of the telegraphic line between Washington and Charleston, to precipitate the State of South Carolina and the United States into a conflict of arms without other cause to have produced it.

And still will you hesitate; still will you do nothing? Will you sit with sublime indifference and allow events to shape themselves? No longer can you say the responsibility is upon the Executive. He has thrown it upon you. He has notified you that he can do nothing; and you therefore know he will do nothing. He has told you the responsibility now rests with Congress; and I close as I began, by invoking you to meet that responsibility, bravely to act the patriot's part. If you will, the angel of peace may spread her wings, though it be over divided States; and the sons of the sires of the Revolution may still go on in friendly intercourse with each other, ever renewing the memories of a common origin, the sections, by the diversity of their products and habits, acting and reacting beneficially, the commerce of each may swell the prosperity of both, and the happiness of all be still interwoven together. Thus may it be; and thus it is in your power to make it. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. FOSTER in the chair.) The Sergeant-at-Arms will take care to remove disorderly persons in the gallery. Order must be preserved.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, it has been very hard for me, and I doubt not my Republican associates around me, to bear the many misapprehensions, not to say misstatements, of our position, and to see a perverted state of facts day after day urged upon the Senate and the country by gentlemen upon the other side. We have listened to the Senator from Mississippi; and one would suppose, in listening to him here, that he was a friend of this Union, that he desired the perpetuity of this Government. He has a most singular way of preserving it, and a most singular way of maintaining the Constitution. What is it? Why, he proposes that the Government should abdicate. If it will simply withdraw its forces from Charleston, and abdicate in favor either of a mob or of the constituted authorities of Charleston, we will have peace! He dreads civil war; and he will avoid it by a surrender! He talks as if we Republicans were responsible for civil war if it ensues. If civil war comes, it comes from those with whom he is acting. Who proposes to make civil war but South Carolina? Who proposes to make civil war but Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia, seizing, by force of arms, upon the public property of the United States? Talk to us of making civil war! You inaugurate it, and then talk of it as if it came from the friends of the Constitution and the Union. Here stands this great Government; here stands the Union—a pillar, so to speak, already erected. Do we propose to pull it down? Do we propose undermining the foundations of the Constitution or disturbing the Union? Not at all; but the proposition comes from the other side. They are making war, and modestly ask us to have peace by submitting to what they ask!

I agree in one thing with the Senator from Mississippi. I agree with him that there should have been more decision and more resolution on the part of the Government at the outset. If, when he was secretly informed, as it seems he was long ago, that the public property of the United States at Charleston was not to be protected; if, at that time, he, as a military man, had advised the President of the United States to put the public property at Charleston in a position to be defended, secession would never have made the progress it has. But, sir, it seems there was a complicity with this thing. It was at least to be tolerated. Assurances, it was said, were given that the United States would not protect itself: "Go on, you seceding States; gather your strength; the United States will do nothing to protect itself against your assaults."

Mr. DAVIS. I did not hear the Senator's remarks. Does he refer to me as having secret information?

Mr. TRUMBULL. I referred to the Senator from Mississippi as having said he understood the pledge was given that the fortifications at Charleston were to remain as they were; that that pledge was given some time before the commissioners came here, and that they were to remain in that condition until after there was an opportunity to treat.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, sir, since you have got through a windy sort of explanation, allow me to ask you where I said I got the information.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not know that the Senator stated where he got it.

Mr. DAVIS. It was a great pity, then, you did not listen; for I think my remark was very clear: in the papers that were here read yesterday.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Then the Senator is not responsible. I am informed by Senators around me, that the Senator from Mississippi did remark that Senators around him knew of the pledge at the time it is said to have been given.

Mr. DAVIS. Five or six Senators knew of the agreement to maintain the *status* then existing.

Mr. TRUMBULL. That is the point.

Mr. DAVIS. When I spoke of the assurance, however, I referred to the papers which were read. If the Senator wants to know whether I understood, before those papers were read at the desk, that the *status* should remain, I tell him yes; emphatically yes.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I should like to know if he understood it before South Carolina seceded, or passed her ordinance of secession?

Mr. DAVIS. I think not, sir.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I hope not.

Mr. DAVIS. You hope not! Why?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Because I should have hoped that that Senator would have discountenanced any such idea as leaving the Government of the United States defenseless against the people who were preparing to attack and assail and destroy it.

Mr. DAVIS. Then I have to say to the Senator, his ideas of honor and my own are very different; that I should hold the man to be a scoundrel who did not desire to have a garrison withdrawn, if he believed that garrison might produce bloodshed and could not do good.

Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens.[1]

(From New York Public Library.)

Washington D. C.,
January 13, 1861.

Governor F. W. Pickens,

My Dear Sir: A serious and sudden attack of neuralgia has prevented me from fulfilling my promise to communicate more fully by mail than could safely be done by telegraph. I need hardly say to you that a request for a conference on questions of defense had to me the force of a command; it, however, found me under a proposition from the Governor of Mississippi, to send me as a commissioner to Virginia, and another to employ me in the organization of the State militia. But more than all, I was endeavoring to secure the defeat of the nomination of a foreign collector for the port of Charleston, and at that time it was deemed possible that in the Senate we could arrest all hostile legislation such as might be designed either for the immediate or future coercion of the South. It now appears that we shall lack one or two votes to effect the legislative object just mentioned, and it was decided last evening, in a conference which I was not able to attend, that the Senators of the seceded States should promptly withdraw upon the telegraphic information already received. I am still confined to my bed, but hope soon to be up again, and, at as early a day as practicable, to see you. I cannot place any confidence in the adherence of the administration to a fixed line of policy. The general tendency is to hostile measures, and against these it is needful for you to prepare. I take it for granted that the time allowed to the garrison of Fort Sumter has been diligently employed by yourselves, so that before you could be driven out of your earthworks you will be able to capture the fort which commands them. I have not sufficiently learned your policy in relation to the

[1]-Pickens, Francis Wilkinson (1805-1869), a political leader, was born at Togadoo, S. C., April 7, 1805; attended South Carolina college, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1829, and began practising in Edgefield district. He was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1832; and gave expression to thorough going States Rights doctrine during the nullification episode; was elected to the national House of Representatives as a Nullifier, serving from December 8, 1834, to March 3, 1843. He was a member of the State Senate, 1844-1845; delegate to the Southern Convention at Nashville in 1850; Minister to Russia, 1858-1860; and as Governor of South Carolina, 1860-1862, demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter and gave the order to fire on the "Star of the West." He died at Edgefield, S. C., January 25, 1869: (Consult L. F. Youmans: Francis Wilkinson Pickens, 20 pp., Charleston).

garrison at Fort Sumter, to understand whether the expectation is to compel them to capitulate for want of supplies, or whether it is only to prevent the transmission of reports and the receipt of orders. To shut them up with a view to starve them into submission would create a sympathetic action much greater than any which could be obtained on the present issue. I doubt very much the loyalty of the garrison, and it has occurred to me that if they could receive no reinforcements—and I suppose you sufficiently command the entrance to the harbor to prevent it—that there could be no danger of the freest intercourse between the garrison and the city. We have today news of the approach of a mixed commission from Fort Sumter and Charleston, but nothing further than the bare fact. We are probably soon to be involved in that fiercest of human strife, a civil war. The temper of the Black Republicans is not to give us our rights in the Union, or allow us to go peaceably out of it. If we had no other cause, this would be enough to justify secession, at whatever hazard. When I am better I will write again, if I do not soon see you.

Very sincerely yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens.

(From New York Public Library.)

Washington, January 18th (1861)

To Gov. Pickens:

I have been detained here by sickness and have received an answer to my telegraphic dispatch, inquiring whether the call upon me to go to Jackson, would admit of my going by way of Charleston. Our Gov. claims my immediate presence. . . . I need not say how much I regret this. . . . as every truly yours,

JEFF. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce.[1]

(From New Hampshire Historical Society.)

Washington, D.C.

My dear friend Jany. 20, 1861

I have often and sadly turned my thoughts to you during the troublous times through which we have been passing and now I

[1] The original of his letter is owned by Miss Susan H. Pierce of Hillsboro, N. H.

come to the hard task of announcing to you that the hour is at hand which closes my connection with the United States, for the independence and Union of which my Father bled and in the service of which I have sought to emulate the example he set for my guidance. Mississippi not as a matter of choice but of necessity has resolved to enter on the trial of secession. Those who have driven her to this alternative threaten to deprive her of the right to require that her government shall rest on the consent of the governed, to substitute foreign force for domestic support, to reduce a state to the condition from which the colony rose. In the attempt to avoid the issue which had been joined by the country, the present administration has complicated and precipitated the question. Even now if the duty "to preserve the public property" was rationally regarded the probable collision at Charleston would be avoided. Security far better than any which the federal troops can give might be obtained in consideration of the little garrison at Fort Sumter. If the disavowal of any purpose to coerce So. Ca. be sincere the possession of a work to command the harbor is worse than useless.

When Lincoln comes in he will have but to continue in the path of his predecessor to inaugurate a civil war and, leave a soi disant democratic administration responsible for the fact. Genl. Cushing was here last week and when we parted it seemed like taking leave of a Brother.

I leave immediately for Missi. and know not what may devolve upon me after my return. Civil war has only horror for me, but whatever circumstances demand shall be met as a duty and I trust be so discharged that you will not be ashamed of our former connection or cease to be my friend.

I had hoped this summer to have had an opportunity to see you and Mrs. Pierce and to have shown to you our children. Mrs. Davis was sorely disappointed when we turned southward without seeing you, I believe she wrote to Mrs. Pierce in explanation of the circumstances which prevented us from executing our cherished plan of a visit to you when we should leave West Point.

Mrs. Davis joins me in kind remembrance to Mrs. Pierce and the expression of the hope that we may yet have you both at our country home. Do me the favor to write to me often, address Hurricane P.O. Warren County, Missi.

May God bless you is ever the prayer of your friend

JEFFN. DAVIS.

President F. Pierce

Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones.[1]

Washington Jany 20 1861.

My dear Friend

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter & I herewith enclose the reply of the War Department & regret that it is not more in accordance with your wishes in relation to your son's reappointment. I also enclose, as you requested, a Copy of the Congressional Directory which has just been published.

Mississippi has seceded from the Union & I am on the eve of taking my final leave from the general government. This I am sure will excite regret but cannot cause you surprise. I am sorry to be separated from many true friends at the North, whose inability to secure an observance of the Constitution does not diminish our gratitude to them for the efforts they have made. The progress has been steady towards a transfer of the government into the hands of the abolitionists. Many states like Iowa have denied our rights disregarded their obligations, & have sacrificed their true representatives. To us it became a necessity to transfer our domestic institutions from hostile to friendly hands, & we have acted accordingly. There seems to be but little prospect that we will be permitted to do so peacefully but if the arbitrament must be referred to the sword we have resolved to meet it & confident in the justice of our Cause, we trust in the God of our fathers & the gallantry of their sons. I know you will sympathize with us although you cannot act with us, that we shall never find you or yours in the ranks of our enemies— I am as ever

Very truly

Hon. Geo. W. Jones
U. S. Minister
Bogota

Your friend
JEFFN DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens.

(From New York Public Library.)

Washington, 20th January, 1861.

Governor F. W. Pickens,

Dear Sir: I wrote you a note yesterday announcing to you my disappointment at the circumstances which prevented me from

[1] From collections of Robert Fridenberg of New York City, who generously allows its publication.

meeting you on my way home. You will not be surprised when I say to you that my quiet hours are mostly spent in thoughts of Charleston Harbor, and may therefore pardon the frequency of my letters.

Colonel Hayne has doubtless informed you of the condition in which he found matters here. The opinion of your friends, which has been communicated to him, is adverse to the presentation of a demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumter. The little garrison in its present position presses on nothing but a point of pride, and to you I need not say that war is made up of real elements. . . . I hope we shall soon have a Southern Confederacy, that shall be ready to do all which interest or even pride demands, and in the fullness of a redemption of every obligation. . . . We have much of preparation to make, both in military and civil organization, and the time which serves for our preparation, by its moral effect tends also towards a peaceful solution. Secure of ourselves, walking steadily onward to the purpose we have avowed, if any should misunderstand us, it will be only to awake from their delusion to the realization of the virtues and powers which will seem all the greater for their sudden development.

I learn but vaguely the progress of your work, but rest content in the conviction that all is done which is possible.

. . . . . .

The occurrence of the *Star of the West* seems to me to put you in the best condition for delay, so long as the Government permits that matter to rest where it is Your friends here think you can well afford to stand still so far as the presence of the garrison is concerned, and if things continue as they are for a month, we shall then be in a condition to speak with a voice which all must hear and heed . . . permit me to assure you that my heart will be with you, and my thoughts of you.

Very respectfully and truly,
Yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Speech of Jefferson Davis on retiring from the Senate. Jan. 21, 1861.

Mr. DAVIS. I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the

United States. Under these circumstances, of course my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument; and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if it were otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this.

It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligation, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

A great man who now reposes with his fathers, and who has been often arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union, his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of

nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful, to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish on this last occasion to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase "to execute the laws," was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits, (and they are known to be many,) deprives herself of the advantages, (they are known to be great,) severs all the ties of affection, (and they are close and enduring,) which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when then the doctrine

of coercion was rife and to be applied against her because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my opinion because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said, if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, chooses to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back; but will say to her, God speed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

It has been a conviction of pressing necessity, it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. That Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born—to use the language of Mr. Jefferson—booted and spurred to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families, but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body-politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment made against George III was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do—to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the Prince to be arraigned for stirring up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable, for there

we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three fifths.

Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a Government which thus perverted threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our sacred duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision; but whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here; I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unencumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of

making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

Mr. President, and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

January 23rd, 1861.

. . . . I am deeply obliged to you for your wise suggestions as to the forts in our harbor. The truth is that I have not been prepared to take Sumter. It is a very strong fortress, and in the most commanding position. I found everything in utter confusion, when I came into office, and really no military supplies. Everything was on a small militia scale. The movement of Anderson from Moultrie so suddenly and under the circumstances of the case, plunged me right into the highest and most scientific branches of modern warfare, and also the most expensive. I found great difficulty in repairing and altering Moultrie, . . . Of course, I would desire to do nothing to prejudice our cause with our sister states of the South. . . . If the meeting of the Convention at Montgomery can give us our rights and our possessions without blood, I shall rejoice, but if not, blood must follow. They will throw the fleet of the United States Navy and large vessels into Pensacola and hold Fort Pickens. . . .

What we want is, as soon as the states can meet at Montgomery, Alabama, for them to elect immediately a Commander-in-Chief for the States and assess the States their quota in army and men and money. . . . Allow me to say that I think you are the proper man to be selected at this juncture, and I hope it will be done unanimously. . . . We must have all the organization and form of a government in full operation before the 4th of March, and if anything can save the peace of this country it will be this.

As to who may be selected to fill the highest civil offices, it is not of so much consequence at present, only that they should be high-toned gentlemen of exemplary honesty and firmness of character with full and thorough statesmanship and no demagoguism. We must start one government free from the vulgar influences that have debauched and demoralized the government at Washington.

. . . Louisiana was sold to us by Napoleon under peculiar circumstances and for a small song, for if he had not sold it, the British Navy would have taken it in six weeks. . . . It was under these circumstances, ceded to the United States of America. The United States of America having passed from the map of the world, if there should arise difficulties amongst our own states, the sagacious and ambitious Emperor of the French will in the process of events claim that Louisiana falls back to France by reason of lapsed sovereignty. . . . The same views may finally be advanced by Great Britain upon the ground that she acknowledged the independence of the 13 united colonies, and they having dissolved, the common government, the sovereignty lapses back to the original government. Of course, this is but a pretext, but when there is power, claims have often been made upon far less ground. . . .

I rejoice that South Carolina has proposed the constitution of the United States as a basis of a new government for the Southern States. . . .

I shall be very glad to hear from you fully and freely on all points in which we have so much at stake. The formation of a new union is full of great and momentous issues. I trust wisdom and patriotism will prevail.

Jefferson Davis to J. J. Pettus.

(From the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Executive Office,
Govr. J. J. Pettus Jackson, Miss. Feb. 12 1861

My dear Sir,

Circumstances of which you are aware[1] render it necessary for me to tender to you my resignation of the office of Major Genl. of the Army of Mississippi which was conferred on me by the Convention of the Republic of Mississippi.

Proud of the station to which the too kind estimate of the people's representatives elevates me, I retire from it with sincere regret and will not attempt to express the additional sense of gratitude imposed on me by this further evidence of the favor by which all my efforts for the welfare of Missi. have been cheered and sustained.

Very respectfully and
Sincerely your's
JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Election as President of the Confederate States.

J. E. Douglass to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Grand Junction, Tenn., Feb. 14th 1861.

Dr. Sir:

I regret that I am not able to accompany you to Montgomery, and see you inaugurated President of our young, and I believe our heaven blessed Republic,—but though absent in body I shall be present in spirit. For twentyfive years it has been my custom three times a day to address the throne of grace in private prayer; and be assured that whenever I attend to this duty I shall pray to the Great Ruler of Nations to give you wisdom and grace to guide safely through the storms that threaten us, and to save you at last with an everlasting salvation.

Very respectfully,

J. E. Douglass

P. S. Written in great haste.

Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery—His Speech.

(From the Charleston Mercury (Tri-weekly), Charleston, S. C., Tuesday, February 19, 1861.)

MONTGOMERY, February 16.—A number of model flags were presented to-day and referred. A communication about missiles of war was also referred. A bill was reported from the Committee relative to citizenship, prescribing uniform rules for naturalization, the caption only of which was read. Applications were made for patents and copyrights, which were referred. The balance of the business of the day was transacted in secret session.

SECOND DESPATCH.

MONTGOMERY, February 16.—President Davis' trip from Jackson, Mississippi, to Montgomery, was one continuous ovation. He made no less than twenty-five speeches upon the route, returning thanks for complimentary greetings from crowds of ladies and gentlemen. There were military demonstrations, salutes of cannon, &c., at the various depots.

The Committee of Reception, appointed by the Southern Congress, and also the Committee appointed by the Montgomery authorities, met President Davis about 80 miles from the city

and formally welcomed him. Two fine companies from Columbus, Ga., formed an escort to Opelika. The *cortege* reached Montgomery Friday night at ten o'clock. Salvos of artillery greeted his approach, and a very large crowd assembled at the depot, hailing his appearance with tremendous cheering. President Davis, returning thanks, said that he was proud to receive the congratulations and hospitality of the people of Alabama. He briefly reviewed the present position of the South. The time for compromise, he said, had passed, and our only hope was in a determined maintenance of our position, and to make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel. If coercion should be persisted in, he had no doubt as to the result. We would maintain our right to self-government at all hazards. We ask nothing, want nothing, and will have no complications. If other States should desire to join our Confederation, they can freely come on our terms. Our separation from the old Union is complete. NO COMPROMISE; NO RECONSTRUCTION CAN BE NOW ENTERTAINED. (Tremendous applause.)

A large crowd awaited the President's arrival at the Exchange Hotel. The ladies were equally enthusiastic with the gentlemen. At a quarter before eleven, in response to enthusiastic calls, he appeared on the balcony and said:

Fellow Citizens and Brethren of the Confederate States of America—for now we are brethren, not in name, merely, but in fact—men of one flesh, one bone, one interest, one purpose, and of identity of domestic institutions. We have henceforth, I trust, a prospect of living together in peace, with our institutions a subject of protection and not of defamation. It may be that our career will be ushered in, in the midst of storms—it may be that as this morning opened with clouds, mist and rain, we shall have to encounter inconveniences at the beginning; but as the sun rose, lifted the mist, dispersed the clouds, and left a pure sunlight, Heaven so will prosper the Southern Confederacy, and carry us safe from sea to the safe harbor of constitutional liberty. (Applause.) Thus we shall have nothing to fear at home, because at home we shall have homogeneity. We have nothing to fear abroad, because, if war should come—if we must again baptise in blood the principles for which our fathers bled in the Revolution, we shall show that we are not degenerate sons, but will redeem the pledges they gave to preserve the sacred rights transmitted us, and show that Southern valor still shines as brightly as in the days of '76—in 1812, and in every other conflict.

I was informed by friends that your kindness only required that I should appear before you, fatigued, as I am, by travel—hoarse and unable to speak at length—and I came out merely to assure you of my gratitude for these manifestations of good will. I come with diffidence and distrust to discharge the great duties devolved on me by the kindness and confidence of the Congress of the Confederate States. I thank you, friends, for the kind manifestations of favor and approbation you exhibit on this occasion. Throughout my entire progress to this city I have received the same flattering demonstrations of generous support. I did not regard them as personal to myself, but tendered to me as an humble representative of the principles and policy of the Confederate States. I will devote to the duties of the high office to which I have been called all I have of heart, of head and of hand.

If, in the progress of events, it shall become necessary, and my services shall be needed in another position—if, to be plain, necessity shall require that I shall again enter the ranks as a soldier, I hope you will welcome me there.

Now, friends, again thanking you for this manifestation of your approbation, allow me to bid you good night.

Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government.[1]

February 18, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends, and Fellow-citizens: Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Magistrate of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with many difficulties that arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to

[1] The ceremonies connected with the first inauguration of President Davis were held in front of the Capitol at Montgomery, Alabama.

our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain.

Our present political position has been achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations. It illustrates the American idea that governments rest on the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish them at will whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established. The declared purpose of the compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity;" and when, in the judgment of the sovereign States composing this Confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that, so far as they are concerned, the Government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, defined to be "inalienable." Of the time and occasion of its exercise they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we have labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the United States, and which has been solemnly affirmed and reaffirmed in the Bills of Rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented have proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained; so that the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through which they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if

we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measure of defense which their honor and security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of commodities required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell, and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of these commodities. There can, however, be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest will invite to good will and kind offices on both parts. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency and maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition and relations, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive department having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service. For purposes of defense, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon the militia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should

be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. But this, as well as other subjects appropriate to our necessities, have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours under the Government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a reunion with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much of homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. When this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights, and promote our own welfare, the separation by the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore, and, even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer can only be interrupted by exterior force which would obstruct the transmission of our staples to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust, as it would be detrimental, to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but, if the contrary should prove true, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the

well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations, of subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that toil and care and disappointment are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate; but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope, and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duties required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system of government. The Constitution framed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the true meaning and just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that powers delegated are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may dissappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole; where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor and right and liberty and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity. With the continuance of his favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.

(From Jefferson Davis by his wife, Vol. II, pp. 32-33.)

Montgomery, Ala., February 20, 1861.

. . . . I have been so crowded and pressed that the first wish to write to you has been thus long deferred.

I was inaugurated on Monday, having reached here on Saturday night. The audience was large and brilliant. Upon my weary heart was showered smiles, plaudits, and flowers; but, beyond them, I saw troubles and thorns innumerable.

We are without machinery, without means, and threatened by a powerful opposition; but I do not despond, and will not shrink from the task imposed upon me.

All along the route, except when in Tennessee, the people at every station manifested good-will and approbation by bonfires at night, firing by day; shouts and salutations in both.

I thought it would have gratified you to have witnessed it, and have been a memory to our children.

Thus I constantly wish to have you all with me. . . . Here I was interrupted by the Secretary of the Congress, who brought me two bills to be approved. This is a gay and handsome town of some eight thousand inhabitants, and will not be an unpleasant residence. As soon as an hour is my own, I will look for a house and write to you more fully. . . .

Jefferson Davis to Capt. R. Semmes.[1]

(From President's Letter Book, Confederate Memorial Hall, New Orleans.)

Montgomery, Ala.
Feby. 21, 1861.

Dear Sir:

As agent of the Confederate States, you are authorized to proceed, as hereinafter set forth, to make purchases and con-

[1] Semmes, Raphael (1809-1877), an American naval officer, was born in Charles county, Md., September 27, 1809; entered the U. S. Navy as midshipman June 1, 1832; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1834, but remained in the Navy. He was promoted to lieutenant February 9, 1837; commanded shore battery at Vera Cruz during the Mexican war; was promoted to commander, September 14, 1855; was Secretary of Lighthouse Board, 1858-1861; resigned from the U. S. Navy, February 15, 1861; was commissioner to secure skilled mechanics in the North for the Confederate States; was commissioned in the Confederate Navy, April 18, 1861; commanded the "Sumter" till blockaded in Tangier, January, 1862; commanded the "Alabama" August, 1862, till it was sunk by the Kearsarge, June 18, 1864; was appointed rear-admiral in charge of the James River squadron; was commissioned brigadier general, land forces, Danville, Va., and surrendered at Durham, N. C., May 1, 1865. He practised law at Mobile; was arrested on charge of treason December 15, 1865; but was released by the Third Amnesty Proclamation of President Johnson. He died in Mobile, Ala., August 30, 1897. He wrote Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War; The Campaign of General Scott in the Valley of Mexico; The Cruise of the *Alabama* and the *Sumter;* Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War between the States. Consult Colyer Meriwether: Raphael Semmes, 367 pp., Philadelphia, 1913.

tracts for machinery and munitions, or for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war.

Of the proprietor of the Hazard Powder Company in Connecticut, you will probably be able to obtain Cannon and musket powder,—the former to be of the coarsest grain; and also to engage with him for the establishment of a powder mill at some point in the limits of our territory.

The quantity of powder to be supplied immediately will exceed his stock on hand, and the arrangement for further supply should, if possible, be by manufacture in our own territory; if this is not practicable, means must be sought for further shipments from any and all sources which are reliable.

At the Arsenal at Washington, you will find an artificer named Wright who has brought the cap making machine to its present state of efficiency, and who might furnish a cap machine and accompany it to direct its operations; if not in this, I hope you may in some other way, be able to obtain a cap machine with little delay, and have it sent to the Mount Vernon Arsenal, Ala.

We shall require a manufactory of friction primers, and you will, if possible, induce some capable person to establish one in our country. The demand of the Confederate States will be the inducement in this as in the case of the powder mill proposed.

A short time since, the most improved machinery for the manufacture of rifles, intended for the Harpers Ferry Armory, was, it was said, for sale by the manufacturer. If it be so at this time, you will procure it for this Government, and use the needful precaution in relation to its transportation.

Mr. Barbour, the superintendent of the Harpers Ferry Armory can give you all the information in that connection which you may require. Mr. Ball, the Master Armorer at Harpers Ferry, is willing to accept service under our Government, and could probably bring with him some skilled workmen. If we get the machinery, this will be important.

Machinery for grooving muskets and heavy guns, with persons skilled in their use, is, I hope to be purchased ready made. If not, you will contract for their manufacture and delivery. You will endeavor to obtain the most improved shot for rifled cannon, and persons skilled in the preparation of shot and other fixed ammunition. Capt. G. W. Smith and Capt. Lovell, late of the U. S. Army and now of New York City, may aid you in your task; and you will please say to them that we would be happy to have their services in our army.

You will make such inquiries as your varied knowledge will

suggest in relation to the supply of guns of different calibres, especially the largest. I suggest the advantage, if to be obtained, of having a few of the 15 in. guns, like the one cast at Pittsburg.

I have not sought to prescribe so as to limit your inquiries either as to object or place, but only to suggest for your reflection and consideration the points which have chanced to come under my observation. You will use your discretion in visiting places where information of persons or things are to be obtained for the furtherance of the object in view. Any contracts made will be sent to the Hon. L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, for his approval; and the contractor need not fear that delay will be encountered in the action of this Government.

Very respectfully yrs. &c.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to M. S. Perry.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Montgomery Feb. 22, 1861.

Sir:

The subjoined resolution was passed by Congress in secret session, and the injunction of secrecy, you will perceive, has been removed only so far as to authorize me to communicate in the manner deemed expedient, and I must, therefore, ask that you consider it as confidentially done.

The Resolution suggests two methods by which possession of the forts may be had. It was not intended however, that the progress of the one should retard, or effect the preparations for the other; while, therefore, steps are being taken for negotiation, earnest efforts have been made to procure men of military science, and experience, and to seek for munitions, and machinery suitable to remedy the supposed or known deficiencies in the existing supplies.

Congress, probably, did not design to interfere with the progress of constructions which had been commenced by state authority, the instruction of troops, or other preparation, which will be useful in further operations, and I hope you will continue thus to prepare for whatever exigency may arise. As soon

[1] Perry, Madison, (1814-1865), a political leader, was born in South Carolina in 1814, removed to Florida and became a prominent planter of Alachua County. He was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1848 and to the Florida Senate in 1850; was governor of the State, 1857-1861. He advocated immediate secession in an address to the legislature, November 26, 1860. In the Civil War he was colonel of the 7th Florida regiment. He died in March, 1865.

as a skilful engineer is available, he will be sent to make examination of the Forts within your State, and to aid in the works needful to the execution of the Resolution of Congress, should force be the means to which we must resort.

Very Respectfully
& Truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Major W. H. C. Whiting.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Montgomery Feb. 23d 1861

Dear Sir:

You will proceed to Charleston, and deliver the note addressed to Gov. Pickens, which you will find herewith enclosed.

After conferring with him as to the time and mode of visiting the different posts in Charleston Bay, you will enter upon a reconnoissance of the harbor of Charleston, and its approaches. You will inspect the various works in our possession, and gain such knowledge as circumstances will permit of Fort Sumter.

In inspecting the works of the confederate States you will bear in mind the double relation they have as works of offence, and of defence. You will make an inventory of the armament, and of the munitions at the Forts, and in the stores; noting particularly the different qualities of cannon powder as indicated by the grain.

Generally, I desire you to perform all the duties which devolve upon an Engineer charged with the examination of works, and the preparations for active operations under circumstances such as those of Charleston in this emergency.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Whiting, William Henry Chase (1824-1865), a soldier, was born at Biloxi, Miss., March 22, 1824, and graduated from West Point in 1845. He served as engineer in the construction of several forts and on survey and harbor improvements; was promoted captain, December 13, 1858; and resigned from U. S. Army February 20, 1861. He entered the Confederate military service as chief engineer, with rank of major, in the Army of Shenandoah; was in command after the death of General Bee at first battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861; was promoted brigadier general August 27, 1861; commanded a brigade at Seven Pines May 31, 1862; commanded first division, Army of Northern Virginia, under General Lee, in Seven Days' Battle, June 26-July 2, 1862; commanded District of Cape Fear, Department of North Carolina, December, 1862; built Fort Fisher and defenses of Wilmington (N. C.); was promoted major general February 28, 1863; commanded a division of Beauregard's army at Petersburg, May and June, 1864; was wounded in attack on Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865. He died a prisoner of war in Fort Columbus, New York, March 10, 1865.

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

February 27th, 1861.

I received yours dated 22nd inst., by Col. Luast, enclosing the resolution of Congress expressly taking charge of the military operations in the harbour of Charleston. I have the fullest confidence that you and the Congress will do everything that may be due to the honor and the rights of South Carolina. Of course, we feel that our honor and safety require that Fort Sumter should be in our possession at the very earliest moment possible. We have had great difficulties to contend with. By the extraordinary movement of the U. S. Garrison from Fort Moultrie . . . Major Whiting is here and thinks our energies have been too much directed to attacking Fort Sumter, and not enough to the defence of the harbour so as to prevent reinforcements.

You will see him and, of course, now we will await your orders and the directions of Congress as we feel that our cause is common, and that it is due to our commander General that we should do nothing to involve all the states united in a permanent war by any separate act of ours unless it shall be necessary to self-defence or to prevent war in permanence . . .

We would desire to be informed, if when thoroughly prepared to take the fort, shall we do so, or shall we await your order, and shall we demand the surrender, or will that demand be made by you? . . .

Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens.

(From New York Public Library.)

Montgomery, Ala.,
March 1, 1861.

Gov. F. W. Pickens,

My Dear Sir: I have requested the Secretary of War to inform you fully of the arrangements made and making for the efficient discharge of our duties in connection with the defence of Charleston and the vindication of our rights, territorial and jurisdictional. I use the pronoun our because the cause is common to the Confederate states and near to my heart as if I were a citizen of So. Ca. Genl. Beauregard is full of talent and of much military experience, he has been selected because of his

peculiar fitness for the position and because his zeal and gallantry cannot fail to win your confidence and that of the brave men who have given themselves to the service of their country in this hour of its need.

We will confer freely with you and must needs depend upon you for the power to be useful. I have discussed the subject of the works needful as well to prevent the entrance of reinforcements as to reduce Fort Sumter most speedily and at least cost of the blood of our patriotic sons.

I have not despaired of being able to visit you and will avail myself of the earliest occasion when public duties here will permit to do so.

Very truly yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Captain Barton.

(From New York Public Library.)

March 5, 1861

My dear Sir,

In the bill for raising a volunteer force I find the following—"shall be allowed 40 cents per day for the use and risk of their, (mounts) except horses actually killed in action, and if any mounted volunteer shall not keep himself provided with a serviceable horse, such volunteer shall serve on foot."

I suppose there has been omission or transposition and prefer to call your attention to it informally rather than to send a message on the phraseology—If you could come to see me, or if you recall the bill & revise it the difficulty of construction could be readily removed.

The object I perceive was to stop the pay for use & risk of horse and compel the volunteer to serve on foot if he did not keep a serviceable horse. Was it not also intended to pay the value of a horse killed in action

Very truly yrs
JEFFN DAVIS

Capt. Barton
Com. Mil. Affs.

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

March 17th, 1861.

I now write merely to say that I overlooked, in the hurry of business, your expression of a desire to visit this state as soon

as you could do so. I hope most sincerely you will do so as we shall all be most happy to give you a cordial welcome. If your public engagements would admit of it nothing could be more acceptable to South Carolina . . . You would meet with a very plain people, but you would find yourself amongst friends feeling toward you the deepest attachment as the exponent of great principles with which their whole heart is entirely identified . . .

Most of our officers have not sent on personal applications to be appointed to the army of the Confederate States, because they think they ought to wait for the convention to meet next week, and desire to be presented by that body, and to receive no advantages by the earlier presentation of their names through the influence of friends at Montgomery. They feel confidence that full justice will be done them by yourself . . .

If the Garrison be withdrawn from Fort Sumter, it will leave this harbour free from any possibility of annoyance except from rare and impotent attempts to collect revenue off the Bar which cannot be long maintained. But if we are dragged into a sectional war, it will leave the whole Beaufort coast exposed where our harbours are deep enough to admit the heaviest war vessels, and Broad River, Edisto and Cumber will be easily entered, which will lead the enemy to the heart of our heaviest slave districts of country . . .

In any event I would urge what I believe would be exceedingly acceptable to all our people, and that is that General Beauregard be enlarged in his command and not confined to the harbours and forts around Charleston. There is no man who could have been selected that could give such general confidence and satisfaction as he does. We are all delighted with him. If his command could be extended to the coast of South Carolina, I would go with him to Beaufort and Georgetown and inspect everything particularly.

Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens.

(From New York Public Library.)

Montgomery, Ala.
March 18, 1861.

Govr. F. W. Pickens,

My Dear Sir: Your very kind and gratifying letter was this day delivered to me by Capt. Hartstene and I immediately directed the Secty. of the Navy to order him to return to Charles-

ton that he might enter on the duty as indicated by you. The purpose for which the Secretary had called him here is in my estimation of less importance than that for which you desire him, and I wish to place near you not only able officers, but also such as are agreeable to you. The nature of the harbors of the Beaufort coast have long attracted my attention, but recently their relation to the defence of Charleston, Savannah and the intermediate country have caused me deeply to regret their defenceless condition. We can now only construct earth works, which are of course but poorly suited to resist an attack by ships of War, but borrowing hope from the glorious history of Fort Moultrie, we will not anticipate less than that memorable success. Genl. Beauregard's functions will be enlarged as you advise, and he will be instructed in conjunction with Capt. Hartstene to adopt a plan for such defence as under existing circumstances is practicable. Until we have possession of Fort Sumter it will, however, be necessary that Genl. B. should give his constant attention to Charleston Harbor. We have received nothing for several days from our commissioners, and I have not been of those who felt sanguine hope that the enemy would retire peaceably from your harbor. It is his choice as to how he will go, his stay must soon be measured by our forbearance. To have Fort Sumter uninjured is important to us, and for that reason if there were no other we should prefer that he should go peaceably.

I had the pleasure to see your good Lady here yesterday, and hope before this reaches you that she will have arrived safely at home. With sincere regards, I am,

Very respectfully yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.[1]

(From New York Public Library.)

April 9th, 1861.

. . . I send by the bearer important despatches to the Secretary of War and beg to call your immediate attention to them. The bearer is Col. Hayne, an aide of mine, who will return immediately to me. If you have anything particular to General Beauregard or myself, you can trust it to him, and he will bring it back immediately. Since I enclosed the despatch to the Secre-

[1] From the Major General Samuel Wylie Crawford Collection.

tary of War, Major Anderson has written a polite note to General Beauregard requesting the letters taken from the mail might be returned, as he had been notified that his mails would be stopped entirely. The General returned for answer the private letters had been sent to their destination, but the official letters were sent to the Confederate Government, because rumor well established, indicated that Mr. Fox had violated his faith to me in visiting the Fort under the guarantee of Captain Hartstene, who went with him. This pledge was that he visited Major Anderson by authority for *pacific purposes entirely*. You see that the present scheme of supplying the fort is Mr. Fox's. It is thought the attempt will be made tonight and we have doubled our steamboats on the harbour and bar. Since I visited the war department, we have increased forces on Morris Island to 2100 and ten companies of fine men arrive tonight in the next train of 800 men, and two more regiments arrive tomorrow. We hope to have about 6000 men then on the harbour, batteries and forts.

I trust we are ready, and if they come we will give them a cordial reception, such as will ring right through this country, I think. I hope we are not mistaken, but at any rate we will try and do our duty, . . .

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.[1]

(From New York Public Library.)

April 16th, 1861.

Mr. Bunch, the British Consul, has just called on me for the first time formally, and announced to me the following, which he required to be entirely confidential, except that I might communicate it to you. He said he was authorized to inform me that Mr. Dallas, The Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, has applied to Lord John Russell, Minister of Foreign affairs, by instructions from Washington, to urge the British Government not to recognize the Independence of the Southern States or of the Confederate States, or to do anything that might look to an encouragement as to hope of such recognition. Lord Russell replied that it was impossible to foresee, under what circumstances, the application for recognition might be made and that he declined to give any pledge about the matter, that he hoped there might still be a reconciliation brought about

[1] From the Major General Samuel Wylie Crawford Collection.

and certainly the British Government would do nothing to widen the breach; on the contrary all the feelings of the Government were in favor of a reconciliation, &c. He then added that although Lord Russell did not make it in reply to Mr. Dallas, yet he, Mr. Bunch, was authorized to inform me what Lord John Russell had distinctly said, and it was communicated to Mr. Bunch not from Lord Lyons, but directly from the British Minister that if the United States Government attempted a blockade of the southern ports or if Congress at Washington declared the southern ports were no longer ports of entry &c, that it would immediately lead to the recognition of the Independence of the South by Great Britain, and that free intercourse with us should be maintained . . .

The only way to take Fort Monroe is to take Washington, and this too would give us the Navy, but I would prefer Virginia and Maryland to do it, than to involve our Confederate Government in it yet, unless we are called on by Virginia and Maryland. In that case, it would do our cause no harm. But I think our object will be to confirm our own government and show to the world that we are not at all aggressive, or desirous of anything except to defend ourselves and to prove to the world that every independent state has a right to choose or change its own government whenever the people in convention shall so decide.

But I am sure the Northern Government will fall to pieces, because it has within itself the seeds of rottenness and decay, and if we can consolidate the slave holding race in one government it would give us the certainty of permanent peace and prosperity and secure the development of our peculiar form of civilization.

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher of Va.

(From President's Letter Book. Confederate Memorial Hall.)

"Telegram."

(in pencil:
The date must have been April
say 18th)

Govr. Pickens has communicated your dispatch, but your wants not understood. You shall have whatever aid we can give, on the shortest notice. I wait for answer.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens Charleston S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

(in pencil:

(The date must have been about 18th April 1861)

Have telegraphed to Govr. Letcher offering aid, but asking specific information. He may want your artillerists—those you can not spare.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John Letcher.[1]

(From Rhode Island Historical Society.)

To his Excellency, John Letcher,

Governor of the State of Virginia, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—In response to your communication, conveying to me on behalf of the State of Virginia, the expression of the earnest desire of that Commonwealth to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the Confederate States, and being animated by a sincere wish to unite and bind together our respective countries by friendly ties, I have appointed Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States, as special commissioner of the Confederate States to the Government of Virginia; and I have now the honor to introduce him to you, and to ask for him a reception and treatment corresponding to his station, and to the purposes for which he is sent. Those purposes he will more particularly explain to you.

Hoping that through his agency these may be accomplished, I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you the assurance, of my distinguished consideration.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, April 19, 1861.

[1] Letcher, John (1813-1884), a political leader, was born in Lexington, Va., of Welsh and Scotch ancestry, March 28, 1813, attended Washington college, studied law and began practising in 1839. He was a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1850; a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1851, to March 3, 1859; Governor of Virginia, 1860-1864. He opposed secession but finally turned over the militia and munitions and urged a vigorous prosecution of the war. He was a member of the State House of Representatives, 1876-1877. He died at Lexington, January 26, 1884.

Jefferson Davis,

President of the Confederate States of America.

To all whom these presents shall concern, Greeting:

Know ye, that for the purpose of establishing friendly relations between the Confederate States of America and the Commonwealth of Virginia: and reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence and ability of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, appointed special Commissioner of the Confederate States to the Commonwealth of Virginia, I have invested him with full and all manner of power, and authority for, and in the name of the Confederate States, to meet and confer with any person or persons authorized by the Government of Virginia, being furnished with like power and authority, and with him or them to agree, treat, consult and negotiate of, and concerning all matters and subjects interesting to both republics; and to conclude a treaty or treaties, convention or conventions, touching the premises; transmitting the same to the President of the Confederate States for his final ratification, by and with the advice and consent of the Congress of the Confederate States.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Confederate States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the city of Montgomery, this nineteenth day of April, A. D. 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President:

R. Toombs,

Secretary of State.

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Montgomery, Ala.
April 22, 1861.

Sir:

In addition to the forces heretofore ordered, requisitions have been made for thirteen regiments. Eight to rendezvous at Lynchburg. Four at Richmond. One at Harpers Ferry. Sustain Baltimore if practicable. We will reinforce you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Gov. C. F. Jackson,[1] of Missouri.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Montgomery, Ala., April 23, 1861.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 17th inst. borne by Capts. Green and Duke, and have most cordially welcomed the fraternal assurances it brings.

A misplaced but generous confidence has for years past prevented the Southern States from making the preparation required by the present emergency, and our power to supply you with ordnance is far short of the will to serve you.

After learning, as well as I could from the gentlemen, accredited to me, what was most needful for the attack on the arsenal, I have directed that Capts. Green and Duke should be furnished with two twelve pdr. Howitzers, and two thirty-two pdr. guns, with the proper ammunition for each.

These from the commanding hills will be effective both against the garrison, and to breach the enclosing walls of the place.

I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the Arsenal, and securing its supplies, rendered doubly important by the means taken to obstruct your commerce, and render you unarmed victims of a hostile invasion.

We look anxiously, and hopefully, for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America.

Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Jackson, Claiborne Fox (1807-1862), a soldier and political leader, was born in Fleming County, Ky., April 4, 1807, and removed to Missouri in 1832. He was captain of a company in the Black Hawk War, and fought in the Battle of Bad Axe, August 1-2, 1832; retired from business in 1837; was a member of Missouri House of Representatives, 1836-1848, being Speaker one term; a member of the State senate, 1848-1849; a member of the State convention in 1854; organized a State banking system in 1857; and was governor of Missouri in 1861; supported secession but failed to secure an Act of Secession from Legislature. He organized Camp Jackson; refused Lincoln's call for men; issued a call for Confederate Volunteers; attempted to seize St. Louis but failed; appealed to General Polk for aid. Jackson left Lexington September 29, 1861, and tried to convene the legislature at Neosho. In the meantime a State convention met at the capitol and deposed him. He entered the Confederate Army as brigadier general but resigned on account of poor health. He died at Little Rock, Ark., December 6, 1862.

John Janney, President Convention, to President Davis.

(From Virginia State Papers.)

April 27, 1861, Richmond

I am instructed by the Convention of Virginia to communicate to you the following resolution adopted this day.

Very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

JOHN JANNEY.

Resolved by this convention, that the President of the Confederate States and the constituted authorities of the Confederacy, be and they are hereby cordially and respectfully invited, whereon in their opinion the public interest or convenience may require it, to make the city of Richmond or some other place in this State, the seat of government of the Confederacy.

Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President, Confederate Memorial Hall.)

MONTGOMERY, April 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Congress:[1] It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent Government for the Confederate States has been ratified by conventions in each of those States to which it was referred. To inaugurate the Government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will, it only remains that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it. There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other States, identified in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this Confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendor, to its Government of free, equal, and sovereign States a wider sphere of usefulness, and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence. It was not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deemed it my duty to convoke you at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting. The declaration of war made against this Con-

[1] Second session (called). Met at Montgomery, Ala., April 29, 1861. Adjourned May 21, 1861.

federacy by Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, in his proclamation issued on the 15th day of the present month, rendered it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment to devise the measures necessary for the defense of the country. The occasion is indeed an extraordinary one. It justifies me in a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us and in a succinct statement of the events which have resulted in this warfare, to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on its motives and objects. During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent a common danger impelled them to a close alliance and to the formation of a Confederation, by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered "*severally* into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever." In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made explicit declaration in a distinct article—that "*each* State *retains its* sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation *expressly delegated* to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this contract of alliance, the war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were *each by name* recognized to be independent. The Articles of Confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited unless confirmed by the Legislatures of *every State* after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates who attended a convention "for the *sole and express purpose* of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress *and confirmed by the States*, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." It was by the delegates chosen by the *several States* under the resolution just quoted that the Constitution of the United States was framed in 1787 and submitted to the *several States* for ratification, as shown

by the seventh article, which is in these words: "The ratification of the *conventions of nine States* shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution *between the States* so ratifying the same." I have italicized certain words in the quotations just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government and nation, and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a *compact between* independent States. The Constitution of 1787, having, however, omitted the clause already recited from the Articles of Confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State *retained* its sovereignty and independence, some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution placing beyond any pretense of doubt the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the government thus formed was not a compact *between* States, but was in effect a national government, set up *above* and *over* the States. An organization created by the States to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against *foreign* aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their *domestic* affairs. The *creature* has been exalted above its *creators;* the *principals* have been made subordinate to the *agent* appointed by themselves. The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burdens on commerce as a protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing, by immigration and other causes, in a greater ratio than the population of the South. By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the

National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control. They learned to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will, and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind that, in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and in another memorable instance the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a county and the State in which it is situated and by which it was created. This is the lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States. In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible. When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States negro slavery existed, and the right of property in slaves was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South and pro-

hibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of a property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were inhibited not only by want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves. As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves. Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt; means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond; the constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact; owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the dogmas of these voluntary organizations soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment, by ruinous fines and long-continued imprisonment in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, the theater of agitation and aggression against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Southern States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was not "to promote the general welfare or insure domestic tranquillty," but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciation of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which

held slaves to a condition of inferiority. Finally a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase; of surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; of thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars. This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States and the increasing care and attention for the well-being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about 600,000, at the date of the adoption of the constitutional compact, to upward of 4,000,000. In moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts but with careful religious instruction. Under the supervision of a superior race their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South; the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 1,250,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution to more than 8,500,000 in 1860; and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the exports of the whole United States and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man. With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best adopted to meet so alarm-

ing a crisis in their history. Here it may be proper to observe that from a period as early as 1798 there had existed in *all* of the States of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measure of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that under the law of nations this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact. The Democratic party of the United States repeated, in its successful canvass in 1856, the declaration made in numerous previous political contests, that it would "faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed." The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. These principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the elections of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well-established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States, in their conventions, determined that the wrongs which they had suffered and the evils with which they were menaced required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government which they had ratified in their several conventions. They consequently passed ordinances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union.

Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact amongst themselves by new articles of confederation, which have been also ratified by the conventions of the several States with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the Constitution of 1787. They have organized their new Government in all its departments; the functions of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the Government thus established by themselves; and but for the interference of the Government of the United States in this legitimate exercise of the right of a people to self-government, peace,

happiness, and prosperity would now smile on our land. That peace is ardently desired by this Government and people has been manifested in every possible form. Scarce had you assembled in February last when, prior even to the inauguration of the Chief Magistrate you had elected, you passed a resolution expressive of your desire for the appointment of commissioners to be sent to the Government of the United States "for the purpose of negotiating friendly relations between that Government and the Confederate States of America, and for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two Governments upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith." It was my pleasure as well as my duty to coöperate with you in this work of peace. Indeed, in my address to you on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from you the communication of this resolution, I had said "as a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interests shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled." It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the Congress and the Executive that I made choice of three discreet, able, and distinguished citizens, who repaired to Washington. Aided by their cordial coöperation and that of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with self-respect and the dignity of the Confederacy was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that the Government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people and that our cherished hopes of peace were unattainable.

On the arrival of our commissioners in Washington on the 5th of March they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly intermediary, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his Administration before engaging his attention in the object of their mission. It was not until the 12th of the month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating, in the language of their instructions, their wish "to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make

any demand which is not founded on strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates."

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form. With the firm resolve to avoid war if possible, they went so far even as to hold during that long period unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the Government of the United States of peaceful intentions; of the determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and further, that no measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Confederate States, especially at Fort Pickens, was in contemplation, but that in the event of any change of intention on the subject, notice would be given to the commissioners. The crooked paths of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, and directness as was the course of the United States Government toward our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this I refer to the annexed documents marked ——,* taken in connection with further facts, which I now proceed to relate.

Early in April the attention of the whole country, as well as that of our commissioners, was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, only became known when nearly completed, and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April transports and vessels of war with troops, munitions, and military supplies sailed from Northern ports bound southward. Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and thereupon received on the 8th of April a reply, dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, whilst the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever; to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations. That these assurances were given has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States by its sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention

of supplying Fort Sumter. No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the conduct of the Government of the United States toward this Confederacy can be required than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice. According to the usual course of navigation the vessels composing the expedition designed for the relief of Fort Sumter might be expected to reach Charleston Harbor on the 9th of April. Yet, with our commissioners actually in Washington, detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement, the notice was not addressed to *them,* but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give the notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive.

That this maneuver failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who contrived it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive the instructions of this Government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the tortuous course of the Government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise not to open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused and the conclusion was reached that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet and the fort. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to direct that the fort should at once be reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with the skill and success which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and although the bombardment lasted but thirty-three hours our flag did not wave over its battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston. Fortunately, not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being spared the necessity of a useless effusion of blood, by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbor for the relief of Major Anderson.

I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers which accompany it, for further details of this brilliant affair. In this connection I cannot refrain from a well-deserved tribute

to the noble State, the eminent soldierly qualities of whose people were so conspicuously displayed in the port of Charleston. For months they had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor as a standing menace against their peace and independence. Built in part with their own money, its custody confided with their own consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack, they saw it held with persistent tenacity as a means of offense against them by the very Government which they had established for their protection. They had beleaguered it for months, felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors, and privations of a protracted siege; and when at length their patience was rewarded by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag. All manifestations of exultation were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his Government, refrained from imposing any terms that could wound the sensibilities of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel in which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had been so recently directed.

Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people and of this Government from making any harsh use of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquillity and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war. Scarcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme which he had devised for the reënforcement of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this Confederacy which has prompted me to convoke you. In this extraordinary production that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent Government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions without question over seven sovereign States, over more than

5,000,000 of people, and over a territory whose area exceeds half a million of square miles. He terms sovereign States "combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law." He calls for an army of 75,000 men to act as a *posse comitatus* in aid of the process of the courts of justice in States where no courts exist whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people. He avows that "the *first* service to be assigned to the forces called out" will be not to execute the process of courts, but to capture forts and strongholds situated within the admitted limits of this Confederacy and garrisoned by its troops; and declares that "this effort" is intended "to maintain the perpetuity of popular government." He concludes by commanding "the persons composing the combinations aforesaid"—to wit, the 5,000,000 of inhabitants of these States—"to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days." Apparently contradictory as are the terms of this singular document, one point is unmistakably evident. The President of the United States called for an army of 75,000 men, whose *first* service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard because of my knowledge that under the Constitution of the United States the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress. He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the Executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this Confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defense, if the States of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing the call for troops as an unconstitutional usurpation of power to which they refused to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the States seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the power assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops to be used for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress at the moment, I was under the necessity of confining my action to a call on the States for volunteers for the common defense, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment. I deemed it proper, further, to issue proclamation inviting application from persons disposed to aid our defense in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of

letters of marque and reprisal which you alone, under the Constitution, have power to grant. I entertain no doubt you will concur with me in the opinion that in the absence of a fleet of public vessels it will be eminently expedient to supply their place by private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States "the militia of the sea," and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare. I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received. I cannot close this review of the acts of the Government of the United States without referring to a proclamation issued by their President, under date of the 19th instant, in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this Confederacy against the Government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these States, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this Government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation you will concur with me that it is hard to believe it could have emanated from a President of the United States. Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but conceding this to be the case so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government. If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different Departments I refer to the reports of the Secretaries, which accompany this message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for three commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium since your adjournment to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of those powers treaties of amity and commerce. Further steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance of your resolutions passed at the last session. Sufficient time has not

yet elapsed since the departure of these commisioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them. As I deem it desirable that commissioners or other diplomatic agents should also be sent at an early period to the independent American powers south of our Confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose. Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia that she had withdrawn from the Union and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States, to represent this Government at Richmond. I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia by which that honored Commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister States, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy, will be laid before you for your constitutional action. I have satisfactory assurances from other of our late confederates that they are on the point of adopting similar measures, and I cannot doubt that ere you shall have been many weeks in session the whole of the slaveholding States of the late Union will respond to the call of honor and affection, and by uniting their fortunes with ours promote our common interests and secure our common safety.

In the Treasury Department regulations have been devised and put into execution for carrying out the policy indicated in your legislation on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi River, as well as for the collection of revenue on the frontier. Free transit has been secured for vessels and merchandise passing through the Confederate States; and delay and inconvenience have been avoided as far as possible, in organizing the revenue service for the various railways entering our territory. As fast as experience shall indicate the possibility of improvement in these regulations no effort will be spared to free commerce from all unnecessary embarrassments and obstructions. Under your act authorizing a loan, proposals were issued inviting subscriptions for $5,000,000, and the call was answered by the prompt subscription of more than $8,000,000 by our own citizens, and not a single bid was made under par. The rapid development of the purpose of the President

of the United States to invade our soil, capture our forts, blockade our ports, and wage war against us induced me to direct that the entire subscription should be accepted. It will now become necessary to raise means to a much larger amount to defray the expenses of maintaining our independence and repelling invasion. I invite your special attention to this subject, and the financial condition of the Government, with the suggestion of ways and means for the supply of the Treasury, will be presented to you in a separate communication.

To the Department of Justice you have confided not only the organization and supervision of all matters connected with the courts of justice, but also those connected with patents and with the bureau of public printing. Since your adjournment all the courts, with the exception of those of Mississippi and Texas, have been organized by the appointment of marshals and district attorneys and are now prepared for the exercise of their functions. In the two States just named the gentlemen confirmed as judges declined to accept the appointment, and no nominations have yet been made to fill the vacancies. I refer you to the report of the Attorney-General and concur in his recommendation for immediate legislation, especially on the subject of patent rights. Early provision should be made to secure to the subjects of foreign nations the full enjoyment of their property in valuable inventions, and to extend to our own citizens protection, not only for their own inventions, but for such as may have been assigned to them or may hereafter be assigned by persons not alien enemies. The Patent Office business is much more extensive and important than had been anticipated. The applications for patents, although confined under the law exclusively to citizens of our Confederacy, already average seventy per month, showing the necessity for the prompt organization of a bureau of patents.

The Secretary of War in his report and accompanying documents conveys full information concerning the forces—regular, volunteer, and provisional—raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution; also an account of the expenditures already made, and the further estimates for the fiscal year ending the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events. I refer to his report also for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston Harbor prior to and including the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for the common defense on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us, made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, Saint Philip, and Pulaski 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now *en route* for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If further force should be needed, the wisdom and patriotism of Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to call into the field additional numbers of our noble-spirited volunteers who are constantly tendering service far in excess of our wants.

The operation of the Navy Department has been necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels purchased have been named the Sumter and McRae, and are now being prepared for sea at New Orleans with all possible dispatch. Contracts have also been made at that city with two different establishments for the casting of ordnance—cannon shot and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles, so indispensable for our defense, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for preparation of ordnance stores and the necessary appropriation for that purpose. Hitherto such stores have usually been prepared at the navy yards, and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object. The Secretary also calls attention to the fact that no provision has been made for the payment of invalid pensions to our own citizens. Many of these persons are advanced in life; they have no means of support, and by the secession of these States have been deprived of their claim against the Government of the United States. I recommend the appropriation of the sum necessary to pay these pensioners, as well as those of the Army, whose claims can scarcely exceed $70,000 per annum.

The Postmaster General has already succeeded in organizing his Department to such an extent as to be in readiness to assume the direction of our postal affairs on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by the act of March 15, 1861, or even sooner if desired by Congress. The various books and circulars have been prepared and measures taken to secure supplies of blanks, postage stamps, stamped envelopes, mail bags, locks, keys, etc. He presents a detailed classification and arrangement of his clerical force, and asks for its increase. An auditor of the Treasury for this Department is necessary, and a plan is submitted for the organization of his bureau. The great num-

ber and magnitude of the accounts of this Department require an increase of the clerical force in the accounting branch in the Treasury. The revenues of this Department are collected and disbursed in modes peculiar to itself, and require a special bureau to secure a proper accountability in the administration of its finances. I call your attention to the additional legislation required for this Department; to the recommendation for changes in the law fixing the rates of postage on newspapers, periodicals, and sealed packages of certain kinds, and specially to the recommendation of the Secretary, in which I concur, that you provide at once for the assumption by him of the control of our entire postal service.

In the military organization of the States provision is made for brigadier and major generals, but in the Army of the Confederate States the highest grade is that of brigadier general. Hence it will no doubt sometimes occur that where troops of the Confederacy do duty with the militia, the general selected for the command and possessed of the views and purposes of this Government will be superseded by an officer of the militia not having the same advantages. To avoid this contingency in the least objectionable manner I recommend that additional rank be given to the general of the Confederate Army, and concurring in the policy of having but one grade of generals in the Army of the Confederacy, I recommend that the law of its organization be amended so that the grade be that of general. To secure a thorough military education it is deemed essential that officers should enter upon the study of their profession at an early period of life and have elementary instruction in a military school. Until such school shall be established it is recommended that cadets be appointed and attached to companies until they shall have attained the age and have acquired the knowledge to fit them for the duties of lieutenants. I also call your attention to an omission in the law organizing the Army, in relation to military chaplains, and recommend that provision be made for their appointment.

In conclusion, I congratulate you on the fact that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies. The presidents of the railroads of the Confederacy, in company with others who control lines of communication with States that we hope soon to greet as sisters, assembled in convention in this city, and not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service and conveyance of troops and

munitions, but voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation, at these reduced rates, in the bonds of the Confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the Government at its disposal for the common defense. Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity that the numbers tendering their services have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age and the zeal of youth rival each other in the desire to be foremost for the public defense; and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement and the hope of distinction for individual achievement, they have borne what for new troops is the most severe ordeal—patient toil and constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service, with a resolution and fortitude such as to command approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance. A people thus united and resolved cannot shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make, nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success, however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birthright of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit undiminished to their posterity. A bounteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant crops. The fields of grain which will within a few weeks be ready for the sickle give assurance of the amplest supply of food for man; whilst the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious. We feel that our cause is just and holy; we protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor and independence; we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concession of any kind from the States with which we were lately confederated; all we ask is to be let alone; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must, resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall we ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

To the Congress of the Confederate States.

I lay before the Congress, for their consideration and advice as to its ratification, a copy of the convention between the Confederate States and the Commonwealth of Virginia, which was signed at the city of Richmond on the twenty-fourth day of April, 1861, by the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens on the part of the Confederate States, and by commissioners appointed for that purpose on the part of the State of Virginia.

While performing this act, I congratulate the Congress and the people of the Confederate States upon the conclusion of this alliance by which the great and powerful State of Virginia has made common cause with us and joined her energies and resources to ours for our common defense against the unprovoked war of aggression which the Chief Magistrate of the United States has declared against us.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, May 6, 1861.

MONTGOMERY, Wednesday, May 8, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Congress: In the message addressed to you on the 29th ultimo, I referred to the course of conduct of the Government of the United States toward the commissioners of this Government sent to Washington for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a peaceful adjustment of the pending difficulties between the two Governments. I also made allusion to "an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success;" but I was not then at liberty to make any communication on the subject as specific as was desirable for a full comprehension of the whole subject. It is now, however, in my power to place before you other papers, which I herewith address to you from them. You will perceive that the intermediary referred to was Hon. John A. Campbell, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who made earnest efforts to promote the successful issue of the mission intrusted to our commissioners, and by whom I was kept advised, in confidential communication, of the measures taken by him to secure so desirable a result. It is due to you, to him, and to history that a narration of the occurrences with which he was connected should be made known, the more especially as it will be seen by the letters hereto appended that the correctness and accuracy of the recital have not been questioned by the Secretary of State of the United States, to whom it was addressed. I avail myself

of this opportunity to correct an error in one of the statements made in my message of the 29th of April. It is there recited that I was prompted to call you together in extraordinary session by reason of the declarations contained in the proclamation of President Lincoln of the 15th of April. My proclamation, convoking you, was issued on the 12th of April, and was prompted by the declaration of hostile purposes contained in the message sent by the President to the Governor of South Carolina on the 8th of April. As the proclamation of President Lincoln of the 15th of April repeated the same hostile intention in more specific terms and on a much more extensive scale, it created a stronger impression on my mind, and led to the error above alluded to, and which, however unimportant, I desire to correct.

JEFF'N DAVIS.

Correspondence between the Confederate Commisioners, Mr. Secretary Seward and Judge Campbell.

The Commissioners to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 12, 1861.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States.

Sir: The undersigned have been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as commissioners to the Government of the United States, and, in pursuance of their instructions, have now the honor to acquaint you with that fact, and to make known, through you to the President of the United States, the objects of their presence in this capital.

Seven States of the late Federal Union, having in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States and reassumed the attributes of sovereign power delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation, *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support.

With a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of this political separation, upon such terms of amity and good will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary, the undersigned are instructed to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assur

ing the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

The undersigned have now the honor, in obedience to the instructions of their Government, to request you to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

We are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

[Signed] JOHN FORSYTH,
[Signed] MARTIN J. CRAWFORD.

Memorandum.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1861.

Mr. John Forsyth, of the State of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of the State of Georgia, on the 11th inst., through the kind offices of a distinguished Senator, submitted to the Secretary of State their desire for an unofficial interview. This request was, on the 12th inst., upon exclusively public consideration, respectfully declined.

On the 13th inst., while the Secretary was preoccupied, Mr. A. D. Banks, of Virginia, called at this Department, and was received by the Assistant Secretary, to whom he delivered a sealed communication, which he had been charged by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to present to the Secretary in person.

In that communication Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford inform the Secretary of State that they have been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as commissioners to the Government of the United States, and they set forth the objects of their attendance at Washington. They observe that seven States of the American Union, in the exercise of a right inherent in every free people, have withdrawn, through conventions of their people, from the United States, reassumed the attributes of sovereign power, and formed a government of their own, and that those Confederate States now constitute an independent nation, *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and fully endowed with all the means of self-support.

Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, in their aforesaid communica-

tion, thereupon proceeded to inform the Secretary that, with a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation thus assumed, upon such terms of amity and good will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and the future welfare of the supposed two nations might render necessary, they are instructed to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring this Government that the President, Congress, and the people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions, and that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in the strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

After making these statements, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford close their communication, as they say, in obedience to the instructions of their Government, by requesting the Secretary of State to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established Government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must so be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the American people. The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently, but confidently, for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of those States, in coöperation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there

shall be need thereof, as the Federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State, on this occasion, not to invite or engage in any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

On the 4th of March instant, the then newly elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the Executive Administration of the Government, first delivering, in accordance with an early, honored custom, an inaugural address to the people of the United States. The Secretary of State respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy these gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a National Convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course, the Secretary of State cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established.

Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State, whose official duties are confined, subject to the direction of the President, to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not at all embrace domestic questions, or questions arising between the several States and the Federal Government, is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority, nor is he at liberty, to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them.

Finally, the Secretary of State would observe that, although he has supposed that he might safely and with propriety have adopted these conclusions, without making any reference of the subject to the Executive, yet, so strong has been his desire to practice entire directness, and to act in a spirit of perfect respect and candor toward Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and that por-

tion of the people of the Union in whose name they present themselves before him, that he has cheerfully submitted this paper to the President, who coincides generally in the views it expresses, and sanctions the Secretary's decision declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

April 8, 1861.

The foregoing memorandum was filed in this Department on the 15th of March last. A delivery of the same to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford was delayed, as was understood, with their consent. They have now, through their secretary, communicated their desire for a definite disposition of the subject. The Secretary of State therefore directs that a duly verified copy of the paper be now delivered.

The Commissioners in Reply to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1861.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State for the United States, Washington.

The "memorandum" dated Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861, with postscript under date of 8th instant, has been received through the hands of Mr. J. T. Pickett, secretary of this commission, who, by the instructions of the undersigned, called for it on yesterday at the Department.

In that memorandum you correctly state the purport of the official note addressed to you by the undersigned on the 12th ultimo. Without repeating the contents of that note in full, it is enough to say here that its object was to invite the Government of the United States to a friendly consideration of the relations between the United States and the seven States lately the Federal Union, but now separated from it by the sovereign will of their people, growing out of the pregnant and undeniable fact that those people have rejected the authority of the United States, and established a government of their own. Those relations had to be friendly or hostile. The people of the old and new Governments, occupying contiguous territories, had to stand to each other in the relation of good neighbors, each seeking their happiness and pursuing their national destinies in their own way, without interference with the other; or they had to be rival and hostile nations. The Government of the Confederate

States had no hesitation in electing its choice in this alternative. Frankly and unreservedly, seeking the good of the people who had intrusted them with power, in the spirit of humanity, of the Christian civilization of the age, and of that Americanism which regards the true welfare and happiness of the people, the Government of the Confederate States, among its first acts, commissioned the undersigned to approach the Government of the United States with the olive branch of peace, and to offer to adjust the great questions pending between them in the only way to be justified by the consciences and common sense of good men who had nothing but the welfare of the people of the two confederacies at heart.

Your Government has not chosen to meet the undersigned in the conciliatory and peaceful spirit in which they are commissioned. Persistently wedded to those fatal theories of construction of the Federal Constitution always rejected by the statesmen of the South, and adhered to by those of the Administration school, until they have produced their natural and often predicted result of the destruction of the Union, under which we might have continued to live happily and gloriously together, had the spirit of the ancestry who framed the common Constitution animated the hearts of all their sons, you now, with a persistence untaught and uncured by the ruin which has been wrought, refuse to recognize the great fact presented to you of a completed and successful revolution; you close your eyes to the existence of the Government founded upon it, and ignore the high duties of moderation and humanity which attach to you in dealing with this great fact. Had you met these issues with the frankness and manliness with which the undersigned were instructed to present them to you and treat them, the undersigned had not now the melancholy duty to return home and tell their Government and their countrymen that their earnest and ceaseless efforts in behalf of peace had been futile, and that the Government of the United States meant to subjugate them by force of arms. Whatever may be the result, impartial history will record the innocence of the Government of the Confederate States, and place the responsibility of the blood and mourning that may ensue upon those who have denied the great fundamental doctrine of American liberty, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and who have set naval and land armaments in motion to subject the people of one portion of this land to the will of another portion. That that can never be done, while a freeman survives in the Confederate States to wield a weapon, the undersigned appeal

to past history to prove. These military demonstrations against the people of the seceded States are certainly far from being in keeping and consistency with the theory of the Secretary of State, maintained in his memorandum, that these States are still component parts of the late American Union, as the undersigned are not aware of any constitutional power in the President of the United States to levy war, without the consent of Congress, upon a foreign people, much less upon any portion of the people of the United States.

The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose to "invite or engage in discussion" of the subject on which their two Governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the Government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our Government, and to characterize the deliberate sovereign act of that people as a "perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement." If you cherish these dreams, you will be awakened from them and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty, were they to fail to make known to the Government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British Crown.

The undersigned clearly understand that you have declined to appoint a day to enable them to lay the objects of the mission with which they are charged before the President of the United States, because so to do would be to recognize the independence and separate nationality of the Confederate States. This is the vein of thought that pervades the memorandum before us. The truth of history requires that it should distinctly appear upon the record that the undersigned did not ask the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. They only asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the Government of the late Federal Union. Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a

peaceful solution, the active naval and military preparations of this Government, and a formal notice to the commanding General of the Confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of war against the Confederate States; for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their Government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and, appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, the people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last, against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power.

This communication cannot be properly closed without adverting to the date of your memorandum. The official note of the undersigned, of the 12th of March, was delivered to the Assistant Secretary of State on the 13th of that month, the gentleman who delivered it informing him that the secretary of this commission would call at twelve o'clock, noon, on the next day, for an answer. At the appointed hour Mr. Pickett did call, and was informed by the Assistant Secretary of State that the engagements of the Secretary of State had prevented him from giving the note his attention. The Assistant Secretary of State then asked for the address of Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, the members of the commission then present in this city, took note of the address on a card, and engaged to send whatever reply might be made to their lodgings. Why this was not done, it is proper should be here explained. The memorandum is dated March 15, and was not delivered until April 8. Why was it withheld during the intervening twenty-three days? In the postscript to your memorandum you say it "was delayed, as was understood, with their [Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford's] consent." This is true; but it is also true that, on the 15th of March, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford were assured by a person occupying a high official position in the Government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated in a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Confederate States, as respects Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens would be notified to us. On the 1st of April we were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Governor

Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reënforcement. The undersigned did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the Administration at the time, or at all events of prominent members of that Administration. This delay was assented to for the express purpose of attaining the great end of the mission of the undersigned—to wit, a pacific solution of existing complications. The inference deducible from the date of your memorandum, that the undersigned had, of their own volition and without cause, consented to this long *hiatus* in the grave duties with which they were charged, is therefore not consistent with a just exposition of the facts of the case. The intervening twenty-three days were employed in active unofficial efforts, the object of which was to smooth the path to a pacific solution, the distinguished personage alluded to coöperating with the undersigned; and every step of that effort is recorded in writing and now in the possession of the undersigned and of their Government. It was only when all those anxious efforts for peace had been exhausted, and it became clear that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appeal to the sword to reduce the people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose President he is, that the undersigned resumed the official negotiation temporarily suspended, and sent their secretary for a reply to their official note of March 12.

It is proper to add that, during these twenty-three days, two gentlemen, of official distinction as high as that of the personage hitherto alluded to, aided the undersigned as intermediaries in these unofficial negotiations for peace.

The undersigned, commissioners of the Confederate States of America, having thus made answer to all they deem material in the memorandum filed in the Department on the 15th of March last, have the honor to be

JOHN FORSYTH,
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD,
A. B. ROMAN.

Mr. Seward in Reply to the Commissioners.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 10, 1861.

Messrs. Forsyth, Crawford, and Roman, having been apprised by a memorandum, which has been delivered to them, that the Secretary of State is not at liberty to hold official intercourse with them, will, it is presumed, expect no notice from him of the

new communication which they have addressed to him under date of the 9th inst., beyond the simple acknowledgment of the receipt thereof, which he hereby very cheerfully gives.

Judge Campbell to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 13, 1861.

Sir: On the 15th of March ult., I left with Judge Crawford, one of the commissioners of the Confederate States, a note in writing to the effect following:

"I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days. And this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the Administration.

"I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing *status*, prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States, is at present contemplated.

"I feel an entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer to the communication of the commissioners will be productive of evil and not of good. I do not believe that it ought, at this time, to be pressed."

The substance of this statement I communicated to you the same evening by letter. Five days elapsed, and I called with a telegram from General Beauregard to the effect that Sumter was not evacuated, but that Major Anderson was at work making repairs.

The next day, after conversing with you, I communicated to Judge Crawford, in writing, that the failure to evacuate Sumter was not the result of bad faith, but was attributable to causes consistent with the intention to fulfill the engagement, and that as regarded Pickens, I should have notice of any design to alter the existing *status* there. Mr. Justice Nelson was present at these conversations, three in number, and I submitted to him each of my written communications to Judge Crawford, and informed Judge C. that they had his (Judge Nelson's) sanction. I gave you, on the 22d of March, a substantial copy of the statement I had made on the 15th.

The 30th of March arrived, and at that time a telegram came from Governor Pickens, inquiring concerning Colonel Lamon, whose visit to Charleston he supposed had a connection with the proposed evacuation of Fort Sumter.

I left that with you, and was to have an answer the following Monday (1st of April). On the 1st of April I received from you the statement in writing: "(I am satisfied) the Government will

not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor P." The words "I am satisfied" were for me to use as expressive of confidence in the remainder of the declaration.

The proposition as originally prepared was, "the President *may desire* to supply Sumter, but will not do so," etc., and your verbal explanation was that you did not believe any such attempt would be made, and that there was no design to reënforce Sumter.

There was a departure here from the pledges of the previous month, but with the verbal explanation, I did not consider it a matter then to complain of. I simply stated to you that I had that assurance previously.

On the 7th day of April I addressed you a letter on the subject of the alarm that the preparations by the Government had created, and asked you if the assurances I had given were well or ill-founded. In respect to Sumter your reply was, "Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see." In the morning's paper I read, "An authorized messenger from President Lincoln informed Governor Pickens and General Beauregard that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter—peaceably, *or otherwise by force.*" This was the 8th of April, at Charleston, the day following your last assurance, and is the last evidence of the full faith I was invited to *wait for* and *see*. In the same paper, I read that intercepted dispatches disclosed the fact that Mr. Fox, who had been allowed to visit Major Anderson, on the pledge that his purpose was pacific, employed his opportunity to devise a plan for supplying the Fort by force, and that this plan had been adopted by the Washington Government, and was in process of execution. My recollection of the date of Mr. Fox's visit carries it to a day in March. I learn he is a near connection of a member of the Cabinet. My connection with the commissioners and yourself was superinduced by a conversation with Justice Nelson. He informed me of your strong disposition in favor of peace, and that you were oppressed with a demand of the comsioners of the Confederate States for a reply to their first letter, and that you desired to avoid it if possible at that time.

I told him I might perhaps be of some service in arranging the difficulty. I came to your office entirely at his request and without the knowledge of either of the commissioners. Your depression was obvious to both Judge Nelson and myself. I was gratified at the character of the counsels you were desirous of pursuing and much impressed with your observation that a civil war might be prevented by the success of my mediation. You read a letter of Mr. Weed to show how irksome and responsible

the withdrawal of troops from Sumter was. A portion of my communication to Judge Crawford on the 15th of March was founded upon these remarks, and the pledge to evacuate Sumter is less forcible than the words you employed. These words were: "Before this letter reaches you [a proposed letter by me to President Davis], Sumter will have been evacuated."

The commissioners who received those communications conclude they have been abused and overreached. The Montgomery Government hold the same opinion. The commissioners have supposed that my communications were with you, and upon the [that] hypothesis were prepared to arraign you before the country in connection with the President. I placed a peremptory prohibition upon this as being contrary to the terms of my communications with them. I pledged myself to them to communicate information upon what I considered as the best authority, and they were to confide in the ability of myself, aided by Judge Nelson, to determine upon the credibility of my informant.

I think no candid man who will read over what I have written, and consider for a moment what is going on at Sumter, but will agree that the equivocating conduct of the Administration, as measured and interpreted in connection with these promises, is the proximate cause of the great calamity.

I have a profound conviction that the telegrams of the 8th of April of General Beauregard, and of the 10th of April of General Walker, the Secretary of War, can be referred to nothing else than their belief that there has been systematic duplicity practiced on them through me. It is under an oppressive sense of the weight of this responsibility that I submit to you these things for your explanation. Very respectfully,

[Signed] JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, U. S.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

DISPATCHES.

To L. P. Walker, Secretary of War.

An authorized message from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.

Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard.

If you have no doubt as to the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington

Government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and, if this is refused, proceed in such manner as you may determine to reduce it.

Judge Campbell to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 20, 1861.

Sir: I enclose you a letter, corresponding very nearly with one I addressed to you a week ago (13th April), to which I have not had any reply. The letter is simply one of inquiry in reference to facts concerning which, I think, I am entitled to an explanation. I have not adopted any opinion in reference to them which may not be modified by explanation, nor have I affirmed in that letter, nor do I in this, any conclusion of my own unfavorable to your integrity in the whole transaction.

All that I have said and mean to say is, that an explanation is due from you to myself. I will not say what I shall do in case this request is not complied with, but I am justified in saying that I shall feel at liberty to place these letters before any person who is entitled to ask an explanation of myself. Very respectfully,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, U. S.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

No reply has been made to this letter, April 24, 1861.

Judge Campbell to the President of the Confederate States.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., May 7, 1861.

Sir: I submit to you two letters that were addressed by me to the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, that contain an explanation of the nature and result of an intervention by me in the intercourse of the commissioners of the Confederate States with that officer. I considered that I could perform no duty in which the entire American people, whether of the Federal Union or of the Confederate States, were more interested than that of promoting the counsels and the policy that had for their object the preservation of peace. This motive dictated my intervention. Besides the interview referred to in these letters, I informed the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States (not being able to see the Secre-

tary) on the 11th April, ult., of the existence of a telegram of that date, from General Beauregard to the commissioners, in which he informed the commissioners that he had demanded the evacuation of Sumter, and if refused he would proceed to reduce it. On the same day, I had been told that President Lincoln had said that none of the vessels sent to Charleston were war vessels, and that force was not to be used in the attempt to supply the Fort. I had no means of testing the accuracy of this information; but offered that if the information was accurate I would send a telegram to the authorities at Charleston, and it might prevent the disastrous consequences of a collision at that fort between the opposing forces. It was the last effort that I would make to avert the calamities of war. The Assistant Secretary promised to give the matter attention, but I had no other intercourse with him or any other person on the subject, nor have I had any reply to the letters submitted to you.

Very respectfully, JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

GENERAL DAVIS, *President of the Confederate States.*

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis[1]

(From New York Public Library.) 44434

May 8th, 1861.

. . . I think I am in possession of accurate information from Washington as well as from Richmond confirming every word in this letter of Col. Preston. It is clear there is absolute need for an energetic head in Virginia. The possession of Alexandria without a blow will sink the spirit of Virginia, and she will let down like Maryland.

I am informed from my agents in New York as well as Washington, that thirty vessels with pivot guns are fitting out secretly in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, to be sent down into our waters in the next three or four weeks with 30,000 men, and Fox has been ordered on our coast to examine, &c. This may be so, and our Beaufort coast is entirely exposed and the waters very deep, vessels of 20 feet water being able to enter easily. I am to place ordnance on proper points so as to give what we can.

. . . Allow me most respectfully to call your immediate attention to Virginia and if you desire me to send another regiment, I have one ready of 900 men, . . .

[1] From the Major General Samuel Wylie Crawford Collection.

Jefferson Davis to Messrs. McKaig, Yellott and Harding.

(From the Iowa Historical Department.)

Montgomery, 25th, May, 1861.

Gentlemen:—

I receive with sincere pleasure the assurance that the State of Maryland sympathises with the people of these States in their determined vindication of the right of Self-Government, and that the people of Maryland "are enlisted with their whole hearts on the side of reconciliation and peace". The people of these Confederate States, notwithstanding their separation from their late sister, have not ceased to feel a deep solicitude in her welfare, and to hope that, at no distant day, a State whose people, habits and institutions are so closely related and assimilated with theirs, will seek to unite her fate and fortunes with those of this Confederacy.

The Government of the Confederate States receive with respect the suggestion of the State of Maryland that there should be "a general cessation of hostilities now pending, until the meeting of the Congress in July next, in order that said body may, if possible, arrange for an adjustment of existing troubles by means of negotiation rather than the sword", but is at a loss how to reply without a repetion of the language it has used on every possible occasion that has presented itself, since the establishment of its independence. The deference to the State of Maryland, however, it again asserts, in the most emphatic terms, that its sincere and earnest desire is for peace; that whilst the Government would readily entertain any proposition from the Government of the United States tending to a peaceful solution of the pending difficulties, the recent attempts of this Government to enter into negotiations with that of the United States, were attended with results which forbid any renewal of proposals from it to that Government.

If any further assurance of the desire of this Government for peace were necessary, it would be sufficient to observe that, being formed of a Confederation of Sovereign States, each acting and deciding for itself, the right of every other Sovereign State to the same self-action and self-government is necessarily acknowledged. Hence conquests of other States are wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principles and sub-

versive of the very organization of this Government. Its policy cannot but be peace: peace with all Nations and people.

Very respectfully,

Messers McKaig, Yellott, Harding. Committee of Maryland Legislature.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. June 2d, 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of yesterday enclosing two advisory communications from your Council to yourself, as to the basis of your tender to the Confederate States, by regiments, of all the volunteer forces which have been, or may be, mustered into the service of Virginia, and all seamen and marines in said service, and all quartermaster and commissary stores now in possession of said State, and also to tender the use of all the public property, naval stores, munitions of war &c &c, acquired from the United States except the machinery for the manufacture of arms captured at Harpers Ferry. Thanking your Excellency & Council for the readiness with which you have met the wants of the common defense most pressing upon us because of the invasion of Virginia, I hope to be pardoned for suggesting that the machinery at Harpers Ferry is essential for the speedy preparation for both repair and construction of small arms, and if it can be used for that purpose more beneficially to the public interest by retaining it in the possession of the State, to urge upon you a more effectual protection for it than it now enjoys. Public buildings and all other public property captured from the United States must be the subject of future settlement with the United States Government should negotiations ever take place between the two governments. The machinery at Harpers Ferry will not constitute an exception, and unless the officers and employees of Virginia can, better than those of the Confederate States, secure it and make it tributary to the public interest, I respectfully submit whether it had not better be put in the general condition which you have given to other public property similarly situated.

In relation to the proposition concerning officers who have left the service of the United States and entered the Army and Navy, I can only say, that the Congress of the Confederate States secured by law to officers of the army thus entering the service, so far as they were of the same grade, that they should have the same relative rank in this service as the one they left. The reason of the rule would equally apply to officers of the Navy. And I do not anticipate its being either disregarded or violated. But the Confederate authority has been invested with discretionary power both as to the acceptance of the services of officers who may resign from the United States and in filling regimental vacancies. To determine the grade which should be given to such officers, I can only say that it is not probable that any officer thus accepted will be appointed to a lower grade than he held in the service of the United States. The only right, however, which I can recognize is that of transfer, according to the existing law of Congress, of officers with the troops to which they have been attached.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

The Journey of President Davis to Richmond.

(From the Daily Richmond Enquirer, Thursday, May 30, 1861.)

President Davis, accompanied by his Aid, Col. Wigfall, and lady, and by Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, left Montgomery by cars on Sunday evening last. They made no special stoppage on the route, and owing to previous severe indisposition of the President, it was desirable that his trip to Richmond should be as private as practicable. At each station, his friends endeavored to convey this information to the citizens, but it was really to no purpose. No matter where the cars stopped, even though it was only for wood or for water, throngs of men, women and children would gather around the cars, asking in loud shouts, "*Where is President Davis?*" "*Jeff Davis!*" "*the old hero!*" and he was forced to make his appearance and frequently to address them. Then we could see handkerchiefs waving, and gay flags and bouquets.

When the flute-like voice of Davis arose upon the air, hushed to stillness by the profound respect of his auditors, it was not long before there was an outburst of feeling which gave vent in a tornado of voices; these would break forth in

constant succession to the end of his address. Every sentiment he uttered seemed to well up from his heart, and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. When he concluded, three hearty cheers always went up from the multitude. The crowd then shouted for Wigfall, and no excuse was tolerated. In vain he would seek some remote part of the cars; the crowd hunted him up, and the welkin rang with rejoicings, as he addressed them in his emphatic and fervent style of oratory. Next would be heard a cry for "Toombs!" He, too, sought to avoid the call, but the echo would ring with the name of "Toombs!" "Toombs!" and the sturdy Georgian statesman had to respond. His frank and open manner came home to the hearts of all. Whether in his own State, in South Carolina, in Alabama, or North Carolina, "Bob Toombs," as they familiarly called him in Georgia, was always welcome when he addressed the people.

In Atlanta, Augusta, Wilmington and Goldsborough, the crowds assembled were very large, and the enthusiasm unbounded.

At Goldsborough, while partaking of his supper in the hall of the hotel, the table was thronged with beautiful girls, and many were bedecking him with garlands of flowers, while others fanned him. It was a most interesting occasion. The military had formed into squares to receive him from the cars; guns were fired, and the band struck up inspiriting martial airs during the interval of supper.

The whole country is a camp. On every hand we see soldiers—and every day the cars were crowded with them. From appearances, they are the flower of the South. The journey of President Davis from Montgomery to the capital was one continuous ovation. The whole soul of the South is in this war; and the confidence manifested in our President, in the many scenes which transpired on this trip, shows that the mantle of Washington falls gracefully upon his shoulders. Never were a people more enraptured with their Chief Magistrate than ours are with President Davis, and the trip from Montgomery to Richmond will ever be remembered with delight by all who witnessed it. The eagerness of young and old and of all classes to catch a glimpse of him, or take him by the hand, is beyond description. This trip has infused a martial feeling in our people that knows no bounds. While, however, there is a rush to the battle-field in our older States, which threatens to fill up all the ranks in our army, we must have a thought for the far distant West, and give our young

sister States an opportunity to unite their names in the history of our war on the borders of Virginia.

The President and suite were welcomed to Virginia by a deputation of the Governor of the State and the Mayor of Richmond. These gentlemen reached the party at Petersburg and accompanied them to the city.

The President at the New Fair Grounds.

At about half-past five o'clock, President Davis, accompanied by a cortege on horseback, left his quarters at the Spotswood House, and proceeded to the New Fair Grounds. Here a large number of ladies and gentlemen had assembled, and on his arrival greeted him with the heartiest demonstrations of pleasure.

On leaving his saddle, the President was surrounded by an eager crowd of soldiers and civilians whom he indulged to a handshaking performance until the pressure became so great that he was compelled to retire to the balcony of the Executive Department, where, in response to the demands of the assemblage, he delivered the following brief and pertinent speech:

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens:—I am deeply impressed with the kindness of your manifestation. I look upon you as the last best hope of liberty; and in our liberty alone is our Constitutional Government to be preserved. Upon your strong right arm depends the success of your country, and, in asserting the birthright to which you were born, you are to remember that life and blood are nothing as compared with the immense interests you have at stake. (Cheers.)

It may be that you have not long been trained, and that you have much to learn of the art of war, but I know that there beats in the breast of Southern sons, a determination never to surrender—a determination never to go home but to tell a tale of honor. (Cries of "Never!" and applause.) Though great may be the disparity of numbers, give us a fair field and a free fight, and the Southern banner will float in triumph everywhere. (Cheers.) The country relies upon you. Upon you rest the hopes of our people; and I have only to say, my friends, that to the last breath of my life, I am wholly your own. (Tremendous Cheers.)

President Davis then retired from the balcony.

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher Richmond Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 7, 1861.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of yesterday covering the letter of Genl. Floyd and its enclosure, to wit, three captains' commissions, which had been regularly issued by you.

Permit me to express my regret that, in the effort to organize a Brigade for the defense of South Western Virginia and the important line of the Va. & Tenn. Rail Road, there should have been any interference with your unquestionable authority and commendable efforts to increase the military power of Virginia.

The apprehension of a movement by the enemy towards East Tenn. renders it necessary at the earliest practicable period, to have say, two regiments embodied in the South Western District of Va.; and if you can consistently do so, I would be glad that the companies in question should be left in that region until Genl. Floyd can complete the organization of his Brigade; and, if you please, that these companies should form a part of it. Enclosed please find a copy of the letter this day addressed to Genl. Floyd, and believe me to be,

Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John R. Chambliss.[1]

(From Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Richmond, June 24, 1861.

Hon. John R. Chambliss,
Chairman, &c.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication accompanied by a resolution of inquiry, adopted by the committee of the Convention of the State of Virginia, "whether, prior to the 24th day of April, any of the Confederate States had transferred to the Confederate Government the public property captured by them from the late United States, and upon what terms; also whether any such

[1] Congressman from Virginia C. S. A.

transfers have been made since the said date, and upon what terms;" to all of which I have to reply that, on the 12th February, 1861, the Congress of the Confederate States of America assumed charge of the questions pending between the several States of the Confederacy and the Government of the United States, relating to the occupations of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public establishments, and directed that act to be communicated to the several States; and again, on the 15th of March, 1861, the Congress recommended the respective States to cede the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, and other public establishments within their respective limits, to the Confederate States; and, in case of such cession, authorized and empowered the President to take charge of the said property. It was also provided by the act of 28th February, 1861, that the President be authorized and directed to assume control of all military operations between the Confederate States, or any of them, and powers foreign to them; and he was authorized to receive from the several States the arms and munitions of war acquired from the United States and then in the forts, arsenals, and navy-yards of said States, and all other arms and munitions which they might desire to turn over and make chargeable to the Confederate Government.

In response thereto, the State of Georgia did, on the 20th March, 1861, by an ordinance of her Convention, authorize the Confederate States of America to occupy, use, and hold possession of all forts, navy-yards, arsenals, custom-houses, and other public sites, with their appurtenances, within the limits of said State and lately in possession of the United States of America, and to repair, rebuild, and control the same at its discretion, until the ordinance should be repealed by a convention of the people of said State. By another ordinance of same date and authority the control of all military operations in said State having reference to or connected with, questions between said State or any of the Confederate States of America, and powers foreign to them, was transferred to the Government of the Confederate States of America. In like manner was transferred the arms and munitions of war acquired from the United States and then remaining in the forts and arsenals. It was further provided that the Governor be authorized to transfer to the Government of the Confederate States such arms, munitions of war, armed vessels or steamers belonging to said State, as in his judgment might be expedient, and upon such terms as should be agreed upon. The Government of the Confederate States was to become account-

able for all such arms and munitions of war as should be transferred.

On the 8th April, 1861, an ordinance was adopted by South Carolina which, in terms of similar import to that of the State of Georgia, transferred to the Government of the Confederate States all the forts, arsenals, custom-houses, navy-yards, and other public sites in her limits. Though not on file in the War Office, my recollection is that the arms and munitions of war were in like manner transferred.

On the 20th March, 1861, the State of Texas, by an ordinance of her convention, in like manner assigned to the Government of the Confederate States all the forts and navy-yards, arsenals and light-houses, and their appurtenances within her limits.

On the 6th May, 1861, the State of Arkansas, in convention, by ordinance, instructed and commissioned her delegates to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States to cede, convey and transfer to the Government of the Confederate States of America the site, buildings and appurtenances of the arsenal at Little Rock, and the site, buildings and appurtenances of the hospital at Napoleon, with several conditions annexed, none of which probably affect the use of the property by the Confederate States. This power has not yet been exercised by the delegates commissioned as above stated.

On the 5th June, 1861, North Carolina, by ordinance of the State Convention, ceded to the Confederate States of America jurisdiction over the arsenal at Fayetteville, except that civil process in all cases, and such criminal process as may issue under the authority of the State of North Carolina, against any person or persons charged with crimes committed without said tract of land, may be executed therein, and transferred arsenals, magazines, &c., the title and possession of the lands described, to the Government of the Confederate States. I have not been advised of any decision by the convention of North Carolina in relation to the transfer of arms captured from the United States, though it is known that a part of those arms have been sent to Virginia, and another portion issued to troops who have been mustered into service, and are now on duty within the limits of this State.

In the removal of the seat of government to the city of Richmond, a box containing a portion of the files of the War Office, has accidentally been separated, and has not yet arrived; from this or other cause have not been able to obtain record evidence of the action of the States of Alabama, Florida,

Louisiana and Mississippi, and therefore state the action of their several State conventions from memory.

In regard to the first named, the course adopted was similar to that of Georgia. In Louisiana the Governor was authorized, as his judgment should direct, to transfer to the Government of the Confederate States the arms and public property captured from the United States.

The forts and arsenal at Baton Rouge have been occupied by the Confederate troops, and a portion of the arms in that arsenal have been transferred.

The action of Florida was generally the same. In Mississippi no arms or munitions of war were captured from the United States; but those obtained by purchase before her secession have been used to supply troops furnished on requisition for the Confederate service—say ten or eleven regiments now employed beyond the limits of the State. The only public property within the limits of the State, and recently held by the Government of the United States, was an unfinished fort on Ship Island and two marine hospitals on the Mississippi river. The first is in the possession and the second at the disposal of the Government of the Confederate States.

I am, most respectfully, yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to P. C. Johnson.

(From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Richmond June 30th 1861.

Hon. P. C. Johnson
Chair Com
Sir,

In answer to your communication of 28th Inst., I have the honor to enclose a statement of the Chief of Ordnance exhibiting the number of arms now held by the Government of the Confederate States in store for future issue.

The greater number of arms belonging to the Government are in the hands of troops serving in the field.

A large amount of arms are believed to be within the limits of several of the States. These it is hoped will be made available for the public service either by transfer to the Government or by issue to troops organized within the limits of the States and generally tendered for the Confederate service. I am in the hope and expectation of receiving an additional supply of arms from the various sources to which I have resorted.

For obvious reasons I must request that this communication shall be regarded as confidential

I am most
Respe Yours &c
JEFFN: DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Abraham Lincoln.

(From Messages of the President.)

RICHMOND, July 6, 1861.

To Abraham Lincoln, President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

Sir: Having learned that the schooner Savannah, a private armed vessel in the service, and sailing under a commission issued by authority of the Confederate States of America, had been captured by one of the vessels forming the blockading squadron off Charleston harbor, I directed a proposition to be made to the officer commanding that squadron for an exchange of the officers and crew of the Savannah for prisoners of war held by this Government "according to number and rank." To this proposition, made on the 19th ult., Captain Mercer, the officer in command of the blockading squadron, made answer on the same day that "the prisoners (referred to) are not on board of any of the vessels under my command."

It now appears by statements made without contradiction in newspapers published in New York, that the prisoners above mentioned were conveyed to that city, and have there been treated not as prisoners of war, but as criminals; that they have been put in irons, confined in jail, brought before the courts of justice on charges of piracy and treason, and it is even rumored that they have been actually convicted of the offenses charged, for no other reason than that they bore arms in defense of the rights of this Government and under the authority of its commission.

I could not, without grave discourtesy, have made the newspaper statements above referred to the subject of this communication, if the threat of treating as pirates the citizens of this Confederacy, armed for service on the high seas, had not been contained in your proclamation of the —— April last. That proclamation, however, seems to afford sufficient justification for considering these published statements as not devoid of probability.

It is the desire of this Government so to conduct the war now

existing as to mitigate its horrors as far as may be possible; and, with this intent, its treatment of the prisoners captured by its forces has been marked by the greatest humanity and leniency consistent with public obligations; some have been permitted to return home on parole, others to remain at large under similar conditions within this Confederacy, and all have been furnished with rations for their subsistence, such as are allowed to our own troops. It is only since the news has been received of the treatment of the prisoners taken on the Savannah that I have been compelled to withdraw these indulgences, and to hold the prisoners taken by us in strict confinement.

A just regard to humanity and to the honor of this Government now requires me to state explicitly that, painful as will be the necessity, this Government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the Savannah, and if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or the crew of the Savannah, that retaliation will be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man, and so barbarous as to disgrace the nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it.

With this view, and because it may not have reached you, I now renew the proposition made to the commander of the blockading squadron to exchange for the prisoners taken on the Savannah, an equal number of those now held by us, according to rank. I am yours, etc.

JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard,[1] *Manassas, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., July 17, 1861.

We are making all efforts to reinforce you. We can not send to day, but afterwards, they will go regularly, daily, railroad

[1] Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant (1818-1893), a soldier, was born near New Orleans, La., May 28, 1818, and graduated from West Point in 1848. He was engaged in the construction of Fort Adams at Newport, R. I., in engineering at Baratraria Bay, La., and the Passes of the Mississippi and in the reconstruction of Fort McHenry. In the Mexican War

permitting, Hamptons' Legion, McRae's regiment, and two battalions, Mississippi and Alabama, under orders.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., July 18, 1861.

McRae's regiment, N.C., goes to you this evening. Barksdale's Mississippi Regt. goes to you from Lynchburg. Further reinforcements have promise of transportation in the morning. Hampton's Legion and others will go as soon as possible. God be praised for your successful beginning. I have tried to join you, but remain to serve you here as most useful for the time.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President.)

To the Congress of the Confederate States of America.[1]

Gentlemen: My message, addressed to you at the commencement of the session, contained such full information of the state of the Confederacy as to render it unnecessary that I should now do more than call your attention to such important facts

he was brevetted captain for gallantry in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, and major for gallantry at Chapultepec. He was promoted captain of engineers March 3, 1853; was in charge of Mississippi and Lake Defenses in Louisiana, 1853-1860; was superintendent of West Point, November, 1860-February 20, 1861. He entered the Confederate Army as brigadier general in command at Charleston; began the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861; had joint command at Manassas July 21, 1861; was promoted general, July 22; was in command at Shiloh, after death of Johnston, April 6-7, 1862; defended Charleston in 1863; defended Coast Line from September, 1862, to April, 1864; was in command of Department of North Carolina, 1864; and surrendered to Sherman, April 26, 1865. He was president of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Mississippi Railway, 1865-1870, and was adjutant general of Louisiana in 1878. He died at New Orleans, February 20, 1893. He wrote and published The Principles and Maxims of the Art of War, Report of the Defense of Charleston, Commentary of the Campaign and Battle of Manassas. Consult, A. Roman; The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War between the States; Including a brief personal sketch, 2 vols., New York, 1884.

[1] Third session. Met at Richmond, Va., July 20, 1861. Adjourned August 31, 1861.

as have occurred during the recess, and to matters connected with the public defense.

I have again to congratulate you on the accession of new members to our confederation of free, equal, and sovereign States. Our loved and honored brethren of North Carolina and Tennessee have consummated the action, foreseen and provided for at your last session, and I have had the gratification of announcing, by proclamation, in conformity with law, that those States were admitted into the Confederacy.

The people of Virginia also, by a majority previously unknown in her history, have ratified the action of her Convention, uniting her fortunes with ours. The States of Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia have likewise adopted the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, and no doubt is entertained of its adoption by Tennessee at the election to be held early next month.

I deemed it advisable to direct the removal of the several Executive Departments, with their archives, to this city, to which you had removed the seat of government, immediately after your adjournment. The aggressive movements of the enemy required prompt and energetic action. The accumulation of his forces on the Potomac sufficiently demonstrated that his efforts were to be directed against Virginia; and from no point could the necessary measures for her defense and protection be so efficiently protected as from her own capital.

The rapid progress of events for the last few weeks has fully sufficed to strip the veil behind which the true policy and purposes of the Government of the United States had been previously concealed; their odious features now stand fully revealed; the message of their President and the action of their Congress during the present month confess the intention of subjugating these States by war, whose folly is equaled by its wickedness; a war by which it is impossible to attain the proposed result, whilst its dire calamities, not to be avoided by us, will fall with double severity on themselves.

Commencing in March last, with an affectation of ignoring the secession of the seven States which first organized this Government; persisting in April in the idle and absurd assumption of the existence of a riot which was to be dispersed by a *posse comitatus;* continuing in successive months the false representation that these States intended offensive war, in spite of the conclusive evidence to the contrary, furnished as well by official action as by the very basis on which this Government is constituted, the President of the United States and his ad-

visers succeeded in deceiving the people of those States into the belief that the purpose of this Government was not peace at home, but conquest abroad; not the defense of its own liberties, but the subversion of those of the people of the United States.

The series of maneuvers by which this impression was created: the art with which they were devised, and the perfidy with which they were executed, were already known to you; but you could scarcely have supposed that they would be openly avowed, and their success made the subject of boast and self-laudation in an executive message. Fortunately for the truth of history, however, the President of the United States details with minuteness the attempt to reënforce Fort Pickens, in violation of an armistice of which he confesses to have been informed, but "only by rumors too vague and uncertain to fix attention;" the hostile expedition dispatched to supply Fort Sumter, admitted to have been undertaken with a knowledge that its success was impossible; the sending of notice to the Governor of South Carolina of his intention to use force to accomplish his object; and then, quoting from his inaugural address the assurance that there could be no conflict unless these States were the aggressors, he proceeds to declare that his conduct, as just related by himself, was a performance of this promise, "so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it;" and in defiance of his own statement that he gave notice of the approach of a hostile fleet, he charges these States with becoming the assailants of the United States, "without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort." He is indeed fully justified in saying that the case "is so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world will not be able to misunderstand it."

Under cover of this unfounded pretense that the Confederate States are the assailants, that high functionary, after expressing his concern that some foreign nations "had so shaped their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable," abandons all further disguise, and proposes "to make this contest a short and decisive one," by placing at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000. The Congress, concurring in the doubt thus intimated as to the sufficiency of the force demanded, has increased it to half a million of men. These enormous preparations in men and money, for the conduct of a war on a scale more gigantic than any which the new world has ever witnessed, is a distinct avowal, in the eyes of civilized man, that the United

States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation; they are at last compelled to abandon the pretense of being engaged in dispersing rioters and suppressing insurrections; and are driven to the acknowledgement that the ancient Union has been dissolved. They recognize the separate existence of these Confederate States, by the interdiction, embargo, and blockade of all commerce between them and the United States, not only by sea, but by land; not only in ships, but in rail cars; not only with those who bear arms, but with the entire population of the Confederate States. Finally, they have repudiated the foolish conceit that the inhabitants of this Confederacy are still citizens of the United States, for they are waging an indiscriminate war upon them all, with a savage ferocity unknown to modern civilization. In this war, rapine is the rule; private residences in peaceful rural retreats, are bombarded and burnt; grain crops in the field are consumed by the torch; and when the torch is not convenient, careful labor is bestowed to render complete the destruction of every article of use or ornament remaining in private dwellings, after their inhabitants have fled from the outrages of a brutal soldiery.

In 1781 Great Britain, when invading her revolted colonies, took possession of the very district of country near Fortress Monroe, now occupied by troops of the United States. The houses then inhabited by the people, after being respected and protected by avowed invaders, are now pillaged and destroyed by men who pretend that the victims are their fellow-citizens.

Mankind will shudder to hear the tales of outrages committed on defenseless females by soldiers of the United States now invading our homes; yet these outrages are prompted by inflamed passions and the madness of intoxication. But who shall depict the horror with which they will regard the cool and deliberate malignity which, under pretext of suppressing an insurrection, said by themselves to be upheld by a minority only of our people, makes special war on the sick, including the women and the children, by carefully devised measures to prevent their obtaining the medicines necessary for their cure. The sacred claims of humanity, respected even during the fury of actual battle, by careful diversion of attack from the hospitals containing wounded enemies, are outraged in cold blood by a government and people that pretend to desire a continuance of fraternal connections.

All these outrages must remain unavenged, save by the universal reprobation of mankind, in all cases where the actual perpetrators of the wrongs escape capture. They admit of no re-

taliation. The humanity of our people would shrink instinctively from the bare idea of waging a like war upon the sick, the women, and the children of the enemy.

But there are other savage practices which have been resorted to by the Government of the United States, which do admit of repression by retaliation. I have been driven to the necessity of enforcing this repression. The prisoners of war taken by the enemy on board the armed schooner Savannah, sailing under our commission, were, as I was credibly advised, treated like common felons; put in irons; confined in a jail usually appropriated to criminals of the worst dye, and threatened with punishment as such. I had made an application for the exchange of these prisoners, to the commanding officer of the enemy's squadron off Charleston harbor, but that officer had already sent the prisoners to New York when the application was made. I, therefore, deemed it my duty to renew the proposal for the exchange, to the constitutional Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, the only officer having control of the prisoners. To this end I dispatched an officer to him, under a flag of truce; and, in making the proposal, I informed President Lincoln of my resolute purpose to check all barbarities on prisoners of war, by such severity of retaliation on the prisoners held by us as should secure the abandonment of the practice.

This communication was received and read by the officer in command of the Army of the United States, and a message was brought from him, by the bearer of my communication, that a reply would be returned by President Lincoln as soon as possible. I earnestly hope that this promised reply, which has not yet been received, will convey the assurance that prisoners of war will be treated, in this unhappy contest, with that regard to humanity which has made such conspicuous progress in the conduct of modern warfare. As a measure of precaution, however, and until the promised reply is received, I still retain in close custody some officers captured from the enemy, whom it had been my pleasure previously to enlarge on parole, and whose fate must necessarily depend on that of the prisoners held by the enemy.

I append a copy of my communication to the President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the report of the officer charged to deliver it, marked Doc. A.

There are some other passages in the remarkable paper to which I have directed your attention, having reference to the

peculiar relations which exist between this Government and the States usually termed the border slave States, which cannot properly be withheld from notice.

The hearts of our people are animated by sentiments toward the inhabitants of these States, which found expression in your enactment refusing to consider them as enemies, or to authorize hostilities against them. That a very large portion of the people of those States regard us as brethren; that if unrestrained by the actual presence of large armies, the subversion of civil authority and the declaration of martial law, some of them at least would joyfully unite with us; that they are with almost entire unanimity opposed to the prosecution of the war waged against us, are facts of which daily recurring events fully warrant the assertion.

The President of the United States refuses to recognize in these, our late sister States, the right of refraining from attack on us; and justifies his refusal by the assertion that the States have no other power "than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them having ever been a State out of the Union."

This view of the constitutional relations between the States and the General Government is a fitting introduction to another assertion of the message, that the Executive possesses the power of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus,* and of delegating that power to military commanders, at his discretion; and both these propositions claim a respect equal to that which is left for the additional statement of opinion in the same paper, that it is proper, in order to execute the laws, that "some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty, that practically it relieves more of the guilty than the innocent, should, to a very limited extent, be violated."

We may well rejoice that we have forever severed our connection with a government that thus tramples on all the principles of constitutional liberty, and with a people in whose presence such avowals could be hazarded.

The operations in the field will be greatly extended by reason of the policy which, heretofore secretly entertained, is now avowed and acted on by the United States. The forces hitherto raised proved ample for the defense of the seven States which originally organized the Confederacy, as is evinced by the fact that, with the exception of three fortified islands, whose defense is efficiently aided by a preponderating naval force, the enemy has been driven completely out of those States; and now, at the expiration of five months from the formation of

the Government, not a single hostile foot presses their soil. These forces, however, must necessarily prove inadequate to repel the invasion by half a million of men, now proposed by the enemy; and a corresponding increase in our forces will become necessary. The recommendations for the raising and efficient equipment of this additional force will be contained in the communication of the Secretary of War, to which I need scarcely invite your earnest attention.

In my message delivered in April last, I referred to the promise of abundant crops, with which we were cheered. The grain crops, generally, have since been harvested, and the yield has proven to be the most abundant known in our history. Many believe the supply adequate to two years' consumption of our population. Cotton, sugar, and tobacco, forming the surplus production of our agriculture, and furnishing the basis of our commercial interchanges, present the most cheering promise; and a kind Providence has smiled on the labor which extracts the teeming wealth of our soil in all portions of our Confederacy.

It is the more gratifying to be able to give you this assurance, because of the need of a large and increased expenditure in the support of our Army. Elevated and purified by the sacred cause they maintain, our fellow-citizens of every condition of life exhibit the most self-sacrificing devotion. They manifest a laudable pride in upholding their independence, unaided by any resources other than their own; and the immense wealth which a fertile soil and genial climate have accumulated in this Confederacy of agriculturists could not be more strikingly displayed than in the large revenues which, with eager zeal, they have contributed at the call of their country. In the single article of cotton the subscriptions to the loan proposed by the Government cannot fall short of fifty millions of dollars, and will probably largely exceed that amount; and scarcely an article required for the consumption of the Army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan, so happily devised by your wisdom. The Secretary of the Treasury, in the report submitted to you by him, will give you the amplest details connected with that branch of the public service.

But it is not alone in their prompt pecuniary contributions that the noble race of freemen who inhabit these States evince how worthy they are of the liberties which they so well know how to defend. In numbers far exceeding those authorized by your laws they have pressed the tender of their services

against the enemy. Their attitude of calm and sublime devotion to their country; the cool and confident courage with which they are already preparing to meet the threatened invasion in whatever proportions it may assume; the assurance that their sacrifices and their services will be renewed from year to year with unfaltering purpose, until they have made good to the uttermost their right to self-government; the generous and almost unquestioning confidence which they display in their Government during the pending struggle—all combine to present a spectacle such as the world has rarely, if ever, seen.

To speak of subjugating such a people, so united and determined, is to speak a language incomprehensive to them. To resist attacks on their rights or their liberties is with them an instinct. Whether this war shall last one, or three, or five years, is a problem they leave to be solved by the enemy alone; it will last till the enemy shall have withdrawn from their borders—till their political rights, their altars, and their homes are free from invasion. Then, and then only, will they rest from this struggle to enjoy in peace the blessings which with the favor of Providence they have secured by the aid of their own strong hearts and sturdy arms. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Richmond, July 20, 1861.

Jefferson Davis to J. E. Brown.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Richmond, Va.
July 19, 1861.

Govr. J. E. Brown,
Atlanta, Ga.

Can you let me have twenty-five tons of saltpetre for powder mill in So. Ca. If so send it to Charleston Arsenal, Capt. Childs Confederate Army. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Gen. J. E. Johnston.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, July 20, 1861.

You are a General in the Confederate Army possessed of the power attaching to that rank.

You will know how to make the exact knowledge of Brig. Genl. Beauregard, as well of the ground as of the troops, and prepara-

tion, available for the success of the object in which you co-operate. The zeal of both assures me of harmonious action.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Augt. 1, 1861.

My Dear General:

Enclosed you will find a letter which will, I suppose, only assure you of that which was anticipated, as except among sharp shooters, it is the rule. The troops generally need more of instruction than in the face of an enemy it may be practicable to give. To insure something, it was sought to put at least one instructed field officer in each regiment organized here. If a major, well; if a Lt. Colonel, better; if a Colonel, best; and in this connection, I suggest to you that the instructed officer, as far as possible, be not detached from Regtl. Hd. Qrs., and be employed in instructing especially the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in tactics and field duties.

A few days since, I recd. a telegram from Genl. Beauregard stating that some of the regiments were without food; an addendum was appended by Col. Lee, Commissary, that the deficiency was of hard bread and bacon, and that he was offered abundance of beef and flour by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. I returned the telegram to Genl. Beauregard and called his attention to the inconsistency.

If under such circumstances, the troops have suffered for food, the neglect of the Subsistence Department demands investigation and the proper correction, not only to remedy the evil, but to afford an example which will deter others from thus offending.

We are anxiously looking for the official reports of the battle of Manassas, and have present need to know what supplies and wagons were captured. I wish you would have prepared a statement of your wants in transportation and supplies of all kinds to put your army on a proper footing for active operations. Mr. Whiting insisted upon being appointed a Capt. of Engineers or Major in the Line. The first, I informed him, it was not deemed proper to confer upon any other than a military Engineer; the second would take him from the particular duties for which you desired him. He was advised of my hope that Congress would authorize the appointment of

Asst. Adjts. Genl. for the provisional Army; but this did not sufficiently attract him to prevent his leaving with the intent to resume his connection with the land of speculations, in which he, in connection with Genl. Stone of the U. S. Army, had been engaged in Sonora.

Genl. Lee[1] has gone to Western Va.; and I hope may be able to strike a decisive blow at the enemy in that quarter, or failing in that, will be able to organize and post our troops so as to check the enemy, after which he will return to this place.

The movement of Banks will require your attention. It may be a ruse; but if a real movement, when your army has the requisite strength and mobility, you will probably find an opportunity by a rapid movement through the passes to strike him in rear or flank, and thus add another to your many claims upon your country's gratitude.

Genl. Holmes[2] will establish a battery above his present position near the mouth of the Chopawamsie, where it is reported the channel can be commanded so as to cut off that line of the enemy's communication with their arsenals and main depots of troops. This measure will, no doubt, lead to an attack, and hence the preference for a position between his column and yours, rather than one lower down the river, as that of Mathias Point.

Nothing important from James and York rivers. The movements at and near Fort Monroe were probably only due to the discharge of the three months men of the enemy.

We must be prompt to avail ourselves of the weakness resulting from the exchange of the new and less reliable forces of the enemy for those heretofore in service, as well as of the moral effect produced by their late defeat. Let me hear from you as your convenience will permit.

With affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Johnston, I am, as ever, your friend, (Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Augt. 4, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

Enclosed I transmit copies of a resolution of enquiry and the reply to it. You will perceive that the answer was made

[1] Genl. Robert E. Lee.
[2] Genl. T. H. Holmes.

in view of the telegram which I enclosed to you,—that being the only information then before me. Since that time, it has been communicated to me that your letter to the Hon. Mr. Miles on the wants of your army and the consequences thereof was read to the Congress, and hence the enquiry instituted. Permit me to request that you will return the telegram to me which I enclosed to show you the form in which the matter came before me. Some excitement has been created by your letter. The Quartermaster and the Commissary Genl. both feel that they have been unjustly arraigned. As for myself, I can only say that I have endeavored to anticipate wants, and any failure which has occurred from imperfect knowledge might have been best avoided by timely requisitions and estimates. I think you are unjust to yourself in putting your failure to pursue the enemy to Washington to the account of short supplies of subsistence and transportation. Under the circumstances of our army and in the absence of the knowledge since acquired, if indeed the statements be true, it would have been extremely hazardous to have done more than was performed. You will not fail to remember that so far from knowing that the enemy was routed, a large part of our forces was moved by you in the night of the 21st to repel a supposed attack upon our right, and that the next day's operations did not fully reveal what has since been reported of the enemy's panic. Enough was done for glory, and the measure of duty was full; let us rather show the untaught that their desires are unreasonable than by dwelling on possibilities recently developed, give form and substance to the criticisms always easy to those who judge after the event.

With sincere esteem, I am your friend

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John J. Pettus.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Richmond, Va
August 12, 1861.

His Excellency
John J. Pettus
Gov. of Miss.
Dear Sir

Your letter of the 29th ulto. in relation to certain companies, now stationed at Corinth and Iuka, has been received.

Very respectfully yours,

JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Thos. A. R. Nelson, Esq.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Augt. 13, 1861.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 12th inst., in which you ask to be discharged from arrest and persecution, and make promise that you will "as a citizen of Tennessee submit to her late action, and religiously abstain from any further words or acts of condemnation whatever, or opposition to her government."

The desire of this Government being to maintain the independence it has asserted by the united feeling and action of all its citizens, it has been its policy not to enter into questions of differences of political opinion heretofore existing. I am therefore pleased to be spared the necessity of inquiring whether the accusation against you be well founded or not, vexatious or not, and to rest content with your submission as a loyal citizen of your State in her recent action in adhering to this Confederacy, and adopting its permanent constitution by an increased majority. I have ordered your discharge, and that of your companions, from custody.

I am &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mr. J. G. M. Ramsey, Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., Augt. 13, 1861

Yours received. Nelson has acknowledged his obligations as a citizen of Tenn. to submit to her late decision; and upon his promise to act hereafter in accordance therewith, I have ordered his release.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Augt. 13, 1861.

My Dear General:

I have stated to Maj. Gorgas[1] your wish for a larger proportion of 12 pdr. howitzers, and he says he can make six per week and mount them as made; but there is great difficulty in supplying harness.

Please send me a statement of the number and calibre of your guns, distinguishing between smooth bored and rifled, also the number of howitzers. This information has been needed in the preparation of ammunition.

It is well to avoid mixing the ammunition further than necessary—say smooth bore or rifle to be with howitzers, but not both kinds of guns and howitzers, in one battery.

I have ordered cavalry to join you, and hope you will soon have a regiment, and one or more separate companies.

Your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Private.

Richmond, Va., Augt. 20, 1861.

General:

Frequent complaints have been made to me of improper food for the well, and a want of care for the sick. I most respectfully invite your attention to both these subjects, and hope that abuses may be promptly corrected. Is it not practicable to construct bake ovens at or near Manassas, that good bread may be supplied to the troops?

The main complaint is of bad bread, and inattention to the sick. I have repelled grumblers; but the clamor has increased in specifications until I have deemed it proper to obtain the facts from you. Captains and Colonels, instead of correcting evils by personal attention, seem to have been the

[1] Josiah Gorgas was graduated from West Point in 1841; brigadier-general and chief of ordnance C. S. A.

sources of no small part of the impressions received and circulated.

I have for some time designed to organize a medical board to examine the appointees, and hope soon to do so.

Your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

L. B. Northrop[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From New York Public Library.)

Office of Commiss'y Gen'l Subst CSA
Richmond Aug 21 1861

His Excellency
Jefferson Davis, Pres't Confe. S. of A.
Mr. President

General Johnston in his letter to you of the 17th inst states, that, "while in the valley depending on a Commissary quite "new to the service, he had an abundance of those portions of "the rations which are not imported." On the 14th Augt Col R. B. Lee Commissary at Manassas wrote that owing to the "overtaxed condition of the Railroad" General Johnston and Beauregard had ordered purchases in the neighborhood, and places on the Orange Manassas Railroad. I regret that equal success did not attend the same efforts as in the valley.

On the 13th August, Col Lee states that " by telegraph" to day, he reported that the sugar, Candles Coffee and Soap at Manassas had been consumed; that there were 221,333 rations of Salt meat; this at two rations per week—equal to two weeks for 50,000 men together with the 2000 barrels of flour he had engaged, and 2000 per week for which I had further arranged

[1] Northrop, Lucius Bellinger (1811-1894), a soldier, was born in Charleston, S. C., September 8, 1811, and graduated from West Point in 1831. He served on the frontier, 1831-1834; was transferred to the 1st Dragoons, August 14, 1833; was promoted 1st Lieutenant July 4, 1836; was stationed at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, 1837-1839; attended Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1839; and was dropped from the army January 8, 1848. Although re-instated August 12th of the same year he was on a certificate of disability and practised medicine in Charleston, S. C., from 1853 until his resignation from the U. S. army, January 8, 1861. He was commissary general in Confederate Army, with headquarters in Richmond, Va., from March 16, 1861, to February 16, 1865; was charged with failure to supply provisions at the Battle of Bull Run and with treating Federal prisoners inhumanely; was arrested and confined at Richmond, from July to November, 1865. He retired to a farm at Charlottesville, Va., in 1866, and died in the Soldiers' Home, at Pikeville, Md., February 9, 1894.

at Fredericksburg, besides corn meal, and other supplies going on from Captain Claibourne in this city, was my view of his condition.

General Johnston says, that there should be always stores for twelve or fifteen days ahead to make an expedition. In this I fully concur, and think moreover that nothing can be as convenient as gentle cattle which carry the meat ration, instead of hogsheads of Bacon—

But Col. Lee reports that, during the recent heavy storms still prevailing, the perishable articles of supply had been unavoidably exposed and somewhat damaged and he applies for fifteen tarpaulins, 20 feet by 30, which are now being made in Richmond. From this it would appear that he had even more than he could preserve. In the letter of the 16th General Johnston writes thus: "It is said that certain responsible busi-"ness men are known to be ready to undertake to introduce "into the confederacy a large stock of bacon, and at a price "far below that now paid in Virginia, the payment to be made "on delivery and in "Confederate States Bonds." General Johnston does not inform me who are the parties to whom he alludes.

I have examined into this question of getting bacon, both from Maryland and Kentucky, and know that occasionally small quantities have come from both these States; indeed from the latter I still hope for more; but no plan for a large introduction has yet stood the test of examination. I am, therefore, rejoiced that one has presented itself to General Johnston, and hope the President will give the authority asked for by him, and I will most cordially sustain his plan.

General Johnston is quite confident that four issues of Bacon per week would be far healthier than two, and that this consideration is fast increasing in importance, for, on the 16th inst, out of 18,178 men, 4,800 were sick. That *these* cases of sickness arose from *other* obvious causes is almost certain; and that a large fresh meat diet, under the circumstances, was far healthier is equally so. There had been alternations of very sultry and rainy days, followed by chilly weather; and this at the sickly season. Besides, a body of men comeing from a high mountain country, exhausted by travel, and intense exertion in the battle and subjected to the deleterious effects of the cutting down of much timber, the turning up of large bodies of earth in entrenchments &c must necessarily be exposed to sickness in the summer months; and when to the foregoing causes are superadded, insufficient and bad weather, together with careless and negligent

cooking, it is to me a matter both of surprise and gratification that the sickness has not been greater. The experience of mankind, confirmed by scientific research, proves that a diet of fresh meat exclusively is conducive to health and that an admixture of salt meat is not more so. In considering the Commissariat it must be viewed thus. A Confederacy with its northern borders covered by friendly states; with limited means, and a large army to be provided for, from the enemies country, this was satisfactorily done. A whole line of states is suddenly added, exposed to attack, they organize their armies, and contemplating absorption by the confederacy, adopt the earliest mode of subsisting them with ample state funds. They consume the bacon of the country, leaving the gleaning to the Confederacy Commissariat, which had to come in almost without funds, and support an Army of double the previous strength. Then from all directions troops converge to this district of Virginia, along the two lines from whence the supplies must chiefly come; the result was foreseen, and every effort made by me to provide for it, as the President, the Secretary of War and Inspector General well know. Still there need not have been want. The books of this office were one month on the road from Montgomery, and meats which were received from Nashville, were delayed in coming here from Twenty to Thirty days, some of it spoiling in the closed cars—comeing troops superseding all else—Mean time the Treasury was unable to furnish little more than Bonds, which are not Bankable, and Sugar from New Orleans, Rice from the South, and flour and beeves from Virginia, had to be obtained for these Bonds, and at prices apportioned to the fact of their being but one purchaser in the field. All this has been successfully done by appearing independent of the districts to be operated in, notwithstanding much misapprehension, opposition and misrepresentation.

The report of Mr Noland, the cattle agent, a gentleman of loyalty and education, is respectfully submitted in reference to that Department; while that in respect to fixing prices is conclusive on the flour and bread question, confirming the policy I have pursued, and completely reversing the points unwittingly made by Col R. B. Lee.

In New Orleans, neither Bonds nor Treasury notes are bankable. I have had to buy Sugar solely with the former, Hence I have been compelled to pick up what could be thus obtained. Want of this article may therefore, be looked for, and must be borne unless current funds can be supplied, to *order*, what is needed. The supply of Coffee depends on accident even if money

were always in hand; and vinegar being a northern production chiefly, the supply must often be precarious. Soap depends on Soda ash; the supply here is nearly exhausted, and the efforts to obtain it from Maryland and Kentucky have not yet proved successful. If salt could be spared, chemistry could extract the caustic soda. I have made arrangements to stimulate the production of salt, meanwhile these articles may fail.

The real evil is ahead. There are not hogs in the Confederacy sufficient for the Army, and the larger force of plantation negroes. Hence, competition must be anticipated by arranging for the purchase of the animals and getting the salt to cure them. Furthermore beeves must be provided for the comeing Spring; cattle must be collected from Texas before the rains set in, and be herded in ranging grounds convenient to the Mississippi. I am arranging for that matter.

Should there be any more complaints sent to your excellency I am ready to meet them.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully your mo obt svt
L. B. Northrop
Commissary Genl. C.S.A.

Endorsed:

The chief commissary with an army represents the Commissary Genl should concur in general principles of policy but of course never let want ensue even if the generals neglect their communications and prevent the objects aimed at by his dept from being accomplished.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

Aug. 21, 1861

The President has sent me certain papers, with directions to return them with my remarks; one of the papers is a Statement of the "Supply of rations and transportation issued between the 21st of July and the 1st of August 1861, to the 1st Corps Army of the Potomac. It is sufficient to say that at midnight of the 17th July, I received a telegram that Genl. Johnstons command was coming in to Manassas. By half after one o'clock, all the light bread and crackers, that could be purchased in Richmond, and all the hard bread in Commissary store, had been forwarded by Rail Road; and from that night, the depot was crowded with supplies "The report of the Superintendent of the Va. R. R.

Mr. Whitcomb and that of Capt Williams, and that sent by Mr. Daniels superintendent of the Central Rail Road, to the President, show that plenty of provisions were awaiting transportation at this end of the road, and plenty of Cars at the other end detained as is alleged, for "storing baggage" and as "Store houses," and other Cars transferred to the Orange and Manassas R. R. "by authority of the Military." In addition to this plentiful supply, 500 barrels of Extra flour, had been waiting at Fredericksburg, since the 14th and a Contract for 1000 barrels per week from thence, had been made, beginning from the 1st August, and a supply of meal ordered from that City at 60¢; while the Commissary at Manassas had been authorized to buy Corn Meal on the 6th of July, on which authority he had begun to act. Authority was afterwards given him to buy Bacon, on the terms stated by him. Concurrent with all this, the Cattle Agent, Mr Noland, was ready and if called upon could have kept all the Troops in plenty. If there had not been one pound of other victuals, the army could have carried on War with herds of beeves, doing their own transportation, while subsisting the Troops on healthy meat, if it was otherwise prudent to proceed

Respectfully referred to the President
L B Northrup
C G S

Richmond
Augt 21st 1861

Jefferson Davis to J. E. Johnston.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 6, 1861.

Genl. J. E. Johnston,
Manassas, Va.
My Dear Sir:

It gives me pleasure to present to you Dr. Saml. A. Cartwright of New Orleans, well known both as a medical practitioner and writer. He is my personal friend, and as a physician holds the *first* place in my estimation. His varied observation and extensive reading may enable him to make you useful suggestions; but in any event, I ask, what I am sure you will grant for this eminent gentleman, your polite attention.

As ever your friend,
(signed) Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. Sept. 8, 1861.

My Dear General:

I have duly received and considered the letter of Genl. Beauregard of the 6th inst. addressed to you, and your reply of the same date. The first and controlling point in the case is the occupation of a line in close proximity to the enemy's entrenchments; and on this, I am not sufficiently informed to have a decided opinion. If the purpose be to occupy the attention of the enemy by creating alarm of an attack until the Battery at Evansport has been completed, the measure can have little permanence and no material effect on your general plan of operations. The purpose not being stated, that has occurred to me as the most probable, because I take it for granted that you do not contemplate with your present means to attempt regular approaches on the enemy's works, and from inspection of the map, suppose that either to prevent a movement by land across the Occoquan and Quantico to attack our position at Evansport, or to move your forces across the Potomac, you would equally prefer to make your base further to the rear. If however you would wait for an attack, still less can it be doubted that you would gain by removing the battle field as far from the enemy's entrenchments as other considerations may permit.

We can not afford to divide our forces unless and until we have two armies able to contend with the enemy's forces at Washington. Two lines of operation are always hazardous. I repeat that we can not afford to fight without a reasonable assurance of victory, or necessity so imperious as to over-rule our general policy. We have no second line of defense, and can not now provide one. The cause of the Confederacy is staked upon your army, and the natural impatience of the soldier must be curbed by the devotion of the patriot. I have felt, and feel, that time brings many advantages to the enemy, and wish we could strike him in his present condition; but it has seemed to me involved in too much probability of failure to render the movement proper with our present means.

Had I the requisite arms, the argument would soon be changed.

Missouri and Kentucky demand our attention, and the Southern coast needs additional defense. It is true that a successful advance across the Potomac would relieve other places, but if not successful, ruin would befal us.

I had hoped to have seen you before this date: I wish to confer with you and General Beauregard, and as my health is rapidly improving, expect to be able to do so at no distant day.

Genl. A. S. Johnston will leave very soon for Tennessee and Arkansas to command on that frontier.

Ever truly your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 13, 1861.

My Dear General:

Yours of the 10th inst. is before me, and I can only suppose you have been deceived by some one of that class in whose absence "the strife ceaseth." While you were in the valley of Virginia, your army and that of Genl. Beauregard were independent commands; when you marched to Manassas, the forces joined and did duty together. I trust the two officers highest in military rank at Richmond were too well informed to have doubted in either case as to your power and duty.

Persons have talked here of the command of yourself and Beauregard as separate armies, and complaints have been uttered to the effect that you took the reinforcements and guns for your own army; but to educated soldiers, this could only seem the muttering of the uninstructed, the rivalry of those who did not comprehend that unity was a necessity, a law of existence.

Not having heard the accusations, I am like yourself ignorant of the specifications, and will add that I do not believe any disposition has existed on the part of the gentlemen to whom you refer, to criticize, still less to detract from you. If they believed that you did not exercise command over the whole, it was, I doubt not, ascribed to delicacy.

You are not mistaken in your construction of my letters having been written to you as the comdg. Genl. I have, however, sometimes had to repel the idea that there was a want of cooperation between yourself and the second in command, or a want of recognition of your position as the senior and comdg. Genl. of all the forces serving at or near to the field of your late brilliant achievements.

Whilst writing it occurs to me that statements have been made, and official applications received in relation to staff officers which suggested a continuance of separation rather than unity in the "Army of the Potomac."

I did not understand your suggestion as to a commander in chief for your army. The Laws of the Confederacy in relation to Generals, have provisions which are new and unsettled by decisions, their provisions special; and the attention of Congress was called to what might be regarded as a conflict of laws; their action was confined to the fixing of dates for the Genls. of the C. S. Army.

Your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John Letcher.

(From Virginia State Papers.)

Sept. 13, 1861, Richmond.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date. I am not surprised at the anxiety you manifest for the security of Va., but regret that in reciting what remains to be done you are seemingly forgetful of how much has been done for the defence of Va., since your avowed "duty to see that the State suffer no detriment in the contest in which we are engaged" became an obligation of the Government of the Confederate States.

Gen'l Huger has not reported to me his reasons for putting the heavy rifled guns furnished to his command elsewhere than at Craney Island, the place specially indicated by you; but I have so much confidence in his professional skill that I would not attempt to decide against his action upon a mere inspection of the map.

All of the places named by you have received attention and more effective preparation than you appear to have known.

A certain proportion of rifled guns are deemed useful, and all available means have been employed to obtain the desired supply. Our line of defence is a long one, and my duty embraces all its parts. With the very limited means possessed, it is not to be expected that the supplies of the Confederate Gov't can keep pace with the wants of every locality, still less with the desires of local commanders.

Any information which will aid me in the effort to repel invasion of the State of Va. will be thankfully received from you and used to the best of my ability to effect that end.

I am, very respectfully,
Y'rs, &c.
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to John Letcher.

(From Virginia State Papers.)

Sept. 14, 1861, Richmond

Many thanks for your kind letter of this date. If ever sensitive it must be attributed to my consciousness of inability to do all which is needful, but you may be assured that I adhere to my fixed determination not to have conflict with the Governors of the States, and in all things to seek for that cordial co-operation with them which alone can enable us to succeed in our present struggle.

Very respectfully and truly yours, &c.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 14, 1861.

Sir:

I have just received and read your letter of the 12th inst.

Its language is, as you say, unusual; its arguments and statements utterly one-sided; and its insinuations as unfounded as they are unbecoming. I am &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Joseph W. Bunch[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From New York Historical Society.)

Union Mills Sept 15th/61

Hon Jefferson Davis President of C. S. A.

Dear Sir

You will please excuse me for intruding on you while I know that you have any amount (of) business to attend to I must give you my case and ask your assistance I am a Vol in the 12 Regi Miss under Col Griffith I was taken sick after I came to Manassa and continued unwell for some time My wife was in Charlottsville & did not get my letters and She became uneasy about me and came up to see what had become of me. After she got here she at once took the Typhoid-Fever and a few

[1] Corporal Sartatia Rifles Co. I Twelfth Reg. Miss. Inf. C. S. A. Corpl. Bunch was from Yazoo County.

days after my child was taken I applied for a Furlough which was the advise of the Physician to get them where I could get stimulants for them. Capt. Cason Col Griffith & Gen Euell all heartily approved of it, & thought I ought by all means have had leave of absence for a few days at least. My Furlough was rejected at Head-Quarters, of course not knowing the situation I am in. I am not in a place suitable for the recovery of my family My child will die the Dr has given it up My wife will not get well if I am kept here I can not get anything to stimulate or to eat I know quite well (knowing you as (I) do) that you would not stop me one moment and I hope you will grant me some assistance in getting of(f) as the safety of my wife now demands it of me. My child is too far gone. I hope to hear from you soon as time is precious with me now The longer I remain here the worse it is on my family. I am sorry that I have to write this note to you but I know of no other way to succeed and quite sorry also that I am not able to be in service at this particular time. My Home is in Holmes Co Miss 5 Miles from Lexington My family has been sick in bed 19 days & the Dr says if I can not get something to stimulate her she will not get well & every effort has been made to get it and can not. You may imagine my anxiety please let me hear from you at Manassa

I remain Very Respect Yours

JOSEPH H. BUNCH.

Jefferson Davis to Howell Cobb.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 21, 1861

Col. Howell Cobb,
C. S. Provl. Army,
Sir:

On the 18th inst., I received an unofficial copy of a resolution of the Congress which requested me "to cause to be prepared a stand of colours and a sword, to be furnished and paid for out

[1] Cobb, Howell (1815-1868), a political leader, was born at Cherry Hill, Jefferson County, Ga., September 7, 1815; graduated at Franklin College in 1834; and was admitted to the bar by special act of legislature, being under age, in 1836. He was solicitor general for the western circuit of Georgia, 1837-1840; member of national House of Representatives from March 4, 1845, to March 3, 1851, and from March 4, 1855, to March 3, 1857, being Speaker, 1849-1851; governor of Georgia, 1851-1853; and Secretary of Treasury under Buchanan from March 6, 1857, to December 10, 1860. Cobb was president of the Provisional Congress that drafted and adopted a constitution for the Confederacy. He entered the military

of the fund placed at the disposal of the President by the contribution of the members of this body, to be presented to Col. Howell Cobb as a testimonial of the high esteem in which his patriotic services are held by the members of the Confederate Congress."

The "stand of colors" has been prepared, and will be delivered to you by my Aide-de-camp, Col. Davis; and you will accept assurance of the confidence I feel that this flag intrusted to you as the commander of a Regt. of Georgians will be gallantly borne wherever our country's need may claim it, and be sustained with such heroism and patriotic devotion as shall further illustrate the proud history of Georgia.

The balance of the fund which has been handed to me by the Hon. C. J. McRae will be applied to the procurement of a sword which will be transmitted to you as soon as obtained.

Had the request of the Congress been more promptly communicated, it would have received earlier attention.

Very respectfully, &c

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John Letcher.

(From Virginia State Papers.)

Sept. 21, 1861, Richmond.

A reply to yours of the 18th has been delayed to enable me to learn the condition of the companies which it is proposed to organize into a company of Artillery.

My information is that they have been received as companies, and so mustered into service, after which the State Executive has no authority to appoint officers to give to them a higher organization. Where companies have been organized into a Regiment and vacancies occur among the field officers, those vacancies will be filled according to the law of their original organization, that is to say, by election or appointment, as the States may have provided.

The commendation of Major Randolph has been noted, and accords with all I have previously heard of him. The letter of

service of the Confederacy as a colonel and was subsequently made a major general. He was opposed to nullification; supported the Compromise measure of 1850; made a forceful argument before the Supreme Court of Georgia on the unconstitutionality of the "Stay Law"; and published "A Scriptural Examination of the Institution of Slavery." Consult Samuel Boykin, "Howell Cobb," 280 pp., Philadelphia, 1870.

General Magruder is herewith returned in compliance with your request. Very respectfully and truly yours, & c.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 5, 1861.

My Dear General:

Yours of the 3d inst. was delivered by Mr. Washington, who promised to call to day for an answer.

I am still weak, and seldom attempt to write even to you. It is necessary to be brief. This view in relation to the number of guns necessary at Evansport was communicated to the Chief of Ordnance in order that he might when practicable furnish them. I do not know whether the movement of troops by the enemy indicates operations from the present base, or fear of an attack by us upon that point, or preparation for a movement from Fort Monroe as a base. You have again been deceived as to our forces here. We never have had anything near to 20,000 men, and have now but little over one fourth of that number. Genl. Walker came here sick, has since gone up to join you. Van Dorn has not been here; and so far as informed, has not yet left Texas. When relieved, he will come here, unless otherwise directed. Magruder applies for eight thousand troops to check projected operations of Genl. Wool in the Peninsula. Wise is dissatisfied with Genl. Floyd, and seeks to be withdrawn. Without his command, Floyd can not hold the valley of Kanawha. We have been disappointed in our efforts to get arms. Had you arms to supply the 10,000 men you want, they could soon be had.

Lee is still in the mountains of Va. The rains have retarded his march, or I think he would have beaten the enemy in that quarter. Had we the means to move on Beverly from Winchester, it might result in the capture of Rosencrantz, and the repossession of Western Virginia.

To permit the enemy to gain a success over any portion of the Army of the Potomac would be a sad disaster, and I have done all that was possible to strengthen you. Since the date of your glorious victory, the enemy have grown weaker in numbers, and far weaker in the character of their troops, so that I had felt it remained with us to decide whether another battle should soon be fought or not. Your remark indicates a different opinion. The organization of the army into divisions would be advanta-

geous if you have junior Brigadiers of great merit and senior Brigadiers unfit to command.

As to a commander in chief, it is provided by the rule applying to troops who happen to join and do duty together.

In relation to the command of Brig. Genl. Holmes, I will only say that it is in easy communication with this place by rail and telegraph, but has little connection with Manassas, whereupon it has been left in direct correspondence with Richmond.

The battery above Acquia Creek was located with reference to width of channel of river and defensibility against attack from Alexandria. The lower side of the Quantico commands the upper. The upper side of the Occoquan is reported to command the lower. The long and circuitous march from Alexandria to Quantico would enable you to strike the column in flank and reverse. The direct and short march to Occoquan offers no such advantage. If we drive off the vessels from that point of the Potomac, the Marylanders can safely come to us. And we may cross to that part of Maryland where our friends are to be found.

Every effort shall be made to furnish the howitzers you want. Col. Pendleton will give you details.

I wish I could send additional force to occupy Loudoun; but my means are short of the wants of each division of the wide frontier I am laboring to protect. One ship load of small arms would enable me to answer all demands, but vainly have I hoped and waited. I have just heard that Genl. A. S. Johnston is here.

May God protect and guide you. Your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Thos. A. Moore,[1] of La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 26, 1861.

Sir:

Yours of the 20th inst. containing copy of a resolution which you informed me was adopted by the Generals and some of the

[1] Moore, Thomas Overton (1805-1876), a political leader, was born in North Carolina in 1805; removed to Louisiana; was a member of the Louisiana Senate in 1856; and governor of Louisiana in 1860-1862. Through his influence, the legislature passed the act of Secession, January 26, 1860, and Governor Moore then organized the state militia and seized the U. S. posts and garrisons throughout the State. When the Federal army had captured New Orleans in 1862 Moore convened the legislature at Opelousas and again at Shreveport, but resigned later the same year. He died in Rapides Parish, June, 1876.

subordinates of the Militia of La. has been received. I concur in your objection to a proposition for a board of defense; and in relation to the other point, would say that long since one of the best officers in the Engineer Corps. and of superior rank, Maj. M. L. Smith was sent to Louisiana to perform the duties of chief engineer there. If from any cause, he has been found incompetent, I regret that the evidence was not laid before me so that he might have been removed. Genl. Van Dorn has not communicated to me the views which you intrusted to him to be delivered orally; but from various sources I have learned that Genl. Twiggs has proven unequal to his command. As in his selection, I yielded much to the solicitation of the people of New Orleans, I think they should sooner have informed me of the mistake they had made. Your own recent letter was the first information received by me. I have, however, directed Mansfield Lovell, who is no doubt known to you by reputation, to be appointed a Brig. Genl., and assigned to duty in connection with the defenses of New Orleans and the adjacent coast. It is some weeks since I met a committee from your city charged with propositions for the defenses of New Orleans, and had hoped the needful works for defense were under construction and repair. In the meantime, I have endeavored to provide the necessary armament and munitions. Should your worst apprehensions be realized,—which I can not bring myself to believe, when I remember how much has been done for the defense of New Orleans since 1815, both in the construction of works and facilities for transportation, I hope a discriminating public will acquit this Government of having neglected the defenses of your coast, and the approaches to New Orleans.

I am very respectfully, your Obdt. Svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

J. Fowlkes to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Memphis Tenn.
His Ex. Pres. J. Davis. Sep 29, 1861

Private

My dear Sir:

Enclosed I send you the letter of Genl. Buckner, designed to make a common expression with Genls. Polk & Pillow! I sent a messenger to Louisville Ky. to confer with G. D. Prentice & others & also, to N. Y. to confer with S. R. Brooks, Esq. who

sent me a messenger, to say, he had had an interview with Secretaries Chase & Cameron, & had an important matter of *great National import,* to submit to me. Some time this week he will return, through Genl. Buckner's lines—

There will be, I fear, great trouble to clothe & provide for our army! The Reply of Quarter Master Myers to my proposal in August was directed to Knoxville & I have just recd. it—too late, to undertake a contract I fear. I can secure a large amt. of Bacon & Pork in coming season, & have *strong parties,* who will unite with me in a large contract for army. If desired, have me advised! I sincerely hope you have yr. health re-instated.

Very truly
as ever yr. friend,
J. Fowlkes.

P. S. Our E. T. troubles, are virtually ended.

(Endorsed) J. Fowlkes, Memphis, Tenn., Sep. 29, 1861
with regard to messengers sent to confer with persons in Kentucky and New York and asking contract to supply the army with provisions J. Fowlkes

Commissary Genl, read and return.
J. D.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith,[1] Army of the Potomac.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 10, 1861.

My Dear General:

I had the pleasure to receive yours of the 8th inst. last night. The matter of controlling railroad transportation has frequently engaged my attention, but was not presented in the form you offer, that of being under the charge of Genl. Beauregard. He

[1] Smith, Gustavus Woodson (1822-1896), a soldier, was born in Georgetown, Ky., January 1, 1822, and graduated from West Point in 1842. He served in the Mexican War and was brevetted lieutenant for gallantry at Cerro Gordo, and captain for gallantry at Contreras. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the military service of the Confederacy as a major-general. He commanded the reserve at Yorktown and the rearguard in the movement toward Richmond, but was relieved, in June, 1862, when Lee had been assigned to the command of the army of Northern Virginia. He was superintendent of the Etowah iron works from the armies, 1862-1864, and was acting Secretary of War of the Confederacy, November 17-20, 1862. He died in New York City, June 23, 1896. He published Confederate War Papers, 381 pp., New York, 1884, and The Battle of Seven Pines, 202 pp., New York, 1891.

could no doubt do more than any one thought of in that connection, but how can he be spared from his present duties? The plan, as I understood him, which he had contemplated, was to employ an agent. That would be less effective than the one existing, viz.: the appointment of a quartermaster specially selected for the duty, and sustained by direct communications between the Executive and the rail road Presidents on all questions which arise. The Generals in the field may do much by giving timely notice of irregularities, and by seeing that trains at their depots are not detained improperly or permitted to leave the freight and passengers which the public service requires to be transported.

In relation to the list of Generals proposed, I will now request you to divide the effective strength of your army by the number of Genls. you would have if the addition was made. Would not the number more nearly correspond to the command of Cols. than Genls.? For thirty seven thousand men, I still think four "divisions" enough, and am still at a loss to perceive how the change of title would increase the efficiency of a Brigadier, but can conceive how a Brigadier would lose something of his value, by being brought into immediate command and minute supervision of a Maj. Genl. of a small division, say about equal to an efficient Brigade.

Your remarks about the moral effect of repressing the hope of the volunteers for an advance are in accordance with the painful impression made on me when in our council it was revealed to me that the army of the Potomac had been reduced to about one half the legalized strength, and that the arms to restore the numbers were not in depot. As I there suggested, though you may not be able to advance into Maryland and expel the enemy, it may be possible to keep up the spirits of your troops by expeditions such as that particularly spoken of against Sickles Brigade on the lower Potomac, or Banks above. By destroying the canal and making other rapid movements whenever opportunity presents, to beat detachments or to destroy lines of communication. Let me insist that you revive something of your early respect for military grades, as your recommendations evince that you have adopted the militia value for the commission of field officers. I have never regarded one entitled to expect of the Confederacy the same grade he may have held under a State.

How have you progressed in the solution of the problem I left,—the organization of the troops with reference to the States and term of service? If the volunteers continue their complaints, that they are commanded by strangers, and do not get

justice, and that they are kept in camp to die, when reported for hospital by the surgeon, we shall soon feel a reaction in the matter of volunteering. Already I have much pressed on both subjects, and have answered by promising that the Genls. would give due attention, and, I hope, make satisfactory changes. The authority to organize regiments into Brigades, and the latter into Divisions, is by law confined only on the President; and I must be able to assume responsibility of the action taken by whomsoever acts for me in that regard. By reference to the law, you will see that in surrendering the sole power to appoint General Officers, it was nevertheless designed as far as should be found consistent to keep up the State relation of troops and Generals. Kentucky has a Brigadier, but not a Brigade; she has, however, a regiment; that regiment and Brigadier might be associated together. Louisiana had regiments enough to form a Brigade, but no Brigadier in either corps; all of the regiments were sent to that corps commanded by a La. General. Georgia has regiments now organized into two Brigades; she has on duty with that army two Brigadiers, but one of them serves with other troops. Mississippi troops were scattered as if the State was unknown. Brig. Genl. Clark was sent to remove a growing dissatisfaction; but though the State had nine regiments there, he (Clark) was put in command of a post and depot of supplies. These nine regiments should form two Brigades. Brigadiers Clark and Whiting the latter (as native of Mississippi) should be placed in command of them, and the regiments for the war put in the regular army Brigadiers brigade. Both brigades should be put in the Division commanded by Genl. Van Dorn of Miss. Thus would carry out the spirit and intent of the law be complied with, disagreeable complaint be spared me, and more of content be assured under the trials to which you look forward. It is needless to specify further. I have been able in writing to you to speak freely, and you have no past associations to disturb the judgment to be passed upon the views presented.

I have made, and am making, enquiries as to the practicability of getting a corps of negroes for laborers to aid in the construction of an entrenched line in rear of your present position.

Your remarks on the want of efficient staff officers are realized in all their force, and I hope among the elements which constitute a staff officer for volunteers, you have duly estimated the qualities of forbearance and urbanity. Many of the privates are men of high social position, of scholarship and fortune. Their pride furnishes the motive for good conduct, and if wounded, is

turned from an instrument of good to one of great power for evil. Genl. Lovell proposes to leave in the morning for New Orleans. Nothing has been heard of the Armada which sailed some time since for the subjugation of the Southern seaport inhabitants.

Bragg made a descent upon Santa Rosa, of which you will see in the journals the telegraphic report. It will give me pleasure to hear from you frequently and fully.

Very truly your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 16, 1861.

My Dear General:

Enclosed you will find a letter, and slip referred to in it; also another slip derived from a different and, I suppose, a friendly source. You will be able better than myself to judge of the value or importance of the matter contained in these papers.

A man has been sent up to confer with Genl. Johnston and yourself in relation to the preparation of Winter Quarters, and the employment of negroes in the construction of a line of entrenchments. The Secty. of State commended him as a man of great capacity for such work.

I have thought often upon the questions of reorganization which were submitted to you, and it has seemed to me, that, whether in view of disease, or the disappointment and suffering of a winter cantonment on a line of defense, or of a battle to be fought in and near your position, it was desirable to combine the troops, by a new distribution, with as little delay as practicable. They will be stimulated to extraordinary effort when so organized, in that the fame of their State will be in their keeping, and that each will feel that his immediate commander will desire to exalt rather than diminish his services. You pointed me to the fact that you had observed that rule in the case of the La. & Ca. troops, and you will not fail to perceive that others find in the fact a reason for the like disposal of them. In the hour of sickness and the tedium of waiting for Spring, men from the same region will best console and relieve each other. The maintenance of our cause rests on the sentiments of the people; letters from the camp complaining of inequality and harshness in the treatment of the men have already dulled the enthusiasm which

filled our ranks with men, who by birth, fortune, education, and social position were the equals of any officer in the Land. The spirit of our military law is manifested in the fact that the State organization was limited to the regiment; the volunteers come in sufficient numbers to have Brigadiers, but have only Colonels. It was not then intended (is the necessary conclusion) that those troops should be under the immediate command of officers above the grade of Colonel. The spirit of the law, then, indicates that Brigades should be larger than customary,—the General being the remote commander of the individuals; charged with the care, the direction, the preservation, of the men, rather than the internal police; he has time to visit hospitals, to enquire into supplies, to supervise what others must execute; and the men come to regard him, when so habitually seen, as the friend of the individual; but they also know him in another capacity, and then removed, as it were placed on a pedestal, he seems the power that moves and controls the mass. This is not an ideal, but a sketch of Taylor when General of the Little Army, many of whom would no sooner have questioned his decisions or have shrunk from him in the hour of danger than if he had been their father. The other point was the necessity for unity in the army of the Potomac. The embarrassment was felt, and the sentiment of commanders appreciated, but rivalry running into jealousy is the unavoidable attendant of difference in the discipline, the usage, and the supplies, of camps; how much more so must it be when corps are associated together with the inevitable diversity resulting from control by different minds, and in which a reference is made to distinct antecedents which have never disappeared by a visible transition from the existence under independent heads. I have had applications made to me for transfer from one corps to another; and among the reasons given, was that the sick of one were permitted to go to the hospital, when, under like circumstances, they were in the other, confined to their encampment.

Mr. Benjamin informed me that you had expressed the wish, in the event of your corps being made an undivided portion of the army, to be relieved and sent to New Orleans. If I had thought you could be dispensed with, it would have given me pleasure long since to have relieved the solicitude of the people of New Orleans by sending you there; but I can not anticipate the time when it would seem to be proper to withdraw you from the position with which you are so intimately acquainted, and for which you have shown yourself so eminently qualified. Nor have I felt that to another could be transferred the moral power

you have over the troops you have commanded. My appreciation of you as a soldier and my regard for you as a man can not permit me willingly to wound your sensibility or to diminish your sphere of usefulness. Very truly your friend,

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to A. J. Gonzales.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 16, 1861.

A. J. Gonzales,

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 10th inst. You inform me that you have declined the appointment tendered to you, that of Adjt. & Inspr. Genl. with the rank of Major, and express the belief that I will be satisfied with the reasons you have given to the Adjt. Genl.

Not being informed of the reasons thus offered by you, I can only say that your right to decline was absolute, and further that the position conferred was designed to continue you on the duty which it was understood you had, by State authority, heretofore performed.

The appointment gave sufficient assurance that your zeal in the cause of the Confederacy was recognized, and would, it seems to me, have justified you in assuming that I did not question it.

I object to your recital of services rendered to me; 1st, because personal obligations do not form my standard in the appointment of officers; 2d, because you have widely mistaken as well what you gave, as what I received.

It is true that I was slandered in relation to the Cuban expeditions which were threatened during Mr. Pierce's administration; and, though I do not recollect having been vindicated by you, it is no more than your frequent declarations might have led me to expect, especially in view of the fact that your former service on the staff of Gen. Lopez would give importance to your opinion in relation to the policy of such expeditions. But you were (not) alone in the modification of your policy so as to make it conform to the change of circumstances. Two others who had been identified with the efforts of Lopez, and who were, at least, as well known as yourself to the people of the South, had undergone a like change. Your chronology, however, is defective, else

[1] C. A. to Gen. W. J. Hardee.

you would not have connected the defense which you say was contained in a letter to me with my election to the U. S. Senate. I was three times elected to that body, twice before the slander referred to was promulgated, and once long after the slanderers had learned how little they had disturbed the public confidence.

The people of Mississippi would no doubt be as much surprised as I was to learn that after many years spent in their service, I had been compelled to seek your aid to save me from their condemnation. There never was a time when I would have sought the letters of any man to sustain my political fortune; it would have been absurd, for such a purpose, to have sought your endorsement. There was, however, a use to which I put your letters and your oral statements, which I am willing you should no longer remember; that was to aid my earnest efforts, in compliance with your frequent applications, to obtain for you employment, both abroad and at home. The little success which attended those efforts may have been your measure of their value, and have led you to pay me in the form of your present tender. It is accepted. You further inform me that you lost the friendship of the conductors of the N. O. Delta, and of Genl. Quitman by your letter to me, which letter, I am sure, neither could have seen; but which supposition implies that your change of position on Cuban affairs was either unnoticed, or was concealed from the public, and only revealed by correspondence with me. If your change was a secret, it was confided to others, and used for the same purpose by them as myself, to claim credit for you, which, at least shows you were regarded as disposed to avow the fact and make a merit of it.

You close your letter with the following sentence, "Had I been your (classmate at West Point) my humble self could have done no more for you." From whom you derive the words in bars, and which you mark as a quotation, I do not know; but the sentence indicates that you propose to me to strike a balance between the services rendered *to me* by Genl. Drayton and yourself to the end that I may see whether the just reward has been given to each. I am not aware that I owed to either more than the good will which answers to kindness shown; but am fully aware that the appointing power is a public trust to be exercised for the public welfare, and not a private fund with which to discharge personal obligations. Therefore, quite a different comparison from that proposed is the only one which it was proper to have instituted.

Respectfully yours &c.

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Capt. John P. Thompson & others of the Ky. vols.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 16, 1861.

Gentlemen:

I have received your petition of the 10th inst.

The public defense requires all the troops now in the Army of the Potomac. Instead of contemplating the withdrawal of any portion of them, my wish has been to increase the number. If troops were withdrawn because their State was assailed, the hope and prophecy of the enemy would be fulfilled. Sympathizing with the feeling expressed, I regret that the public interest does not allow me to comply with your request.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Maj. G. Tochman.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 17, 1861.

Maj. G. Tochman,

Sir:

In reply to yours of the 14th inst., I have to say, that I have no recollection of your ever having asked my permission to publish a letter which you addressed to me, and concerning the contents of which I conversed with you. You must remember that your averments and complaints were regarded by me as unjust, and that my principal object was to learn what grievance you had suffered. You told me that you were gratified by our conversation, saw there had been a misunderstanding, and when I pressed you to show in what you had been treated with injustice, as you had alledged, you withdrew the expression. You explained to me, how, after I had accepted your proposition to raise a *regiment at the North*, you were impressed with the idea that a pleasant surprise was intended for you in the form of a Brigadier's commission, when you found the Secretary of War had given you authority to recruit two regiments, leaving out the special conditions of your proposition, as made to and accepted by me.

You must remember that I stated to you that the Secty. of

[1] Gaspar Tochman. He appears frequently in the Journals of the Confederate Congress vainly seeking back pay as a brigadier-general C. S. A.

War, after writing the letter to you, had revised it, modifying the language so as to exclude the very conclusion which you had drawn. How could you expect me to approve of the publication of a letter from the statements of which I had so fully dissented? It surely furnishes but a poor reason to assure me that it was not to be done in hostility to me, but that the censure was intended for the late Secty. of War whose course I had defended, and for other persons unknown to me, and who therefore could not have affected the result.

I have the honor to be
Yours &c &c
(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 20th, 1861.

My Dear Genl.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge yours of 15th and telegram of this date. To the latter, I reply, that your rank being of the highest grade known to our service, is equal to any command. Your inquiry must therefore be whether there be a distinction between an army, and a corps d'armee; there is none in the law of our army organization.

If two corps or armies should *happen* to join or do duty together, though the senior officer would command the whole, the permanent organization of each army would not properly be disturbed by such accidental junction; but if, two armies should be concentrated into one, indefinitely to remain consolidated, the plainest principles of military organization require that they should be organized as one body, reference being had solely to future efficiency. The junior of the two commanders of the former armies would be second in command of the whole, and would or would not have special charge of a subdivision, according to the circumstances of the case.

In your case, it would seem to me better that you should not have special charge of a subdivision, because in the absence of Genl. Johnston, your succession to the command of the whole would not disturb the relations of the officers and troops nor involve any changes of positions on the line occupied; and further, because your acquaintance with the whole body of the army and the absence of any idea of identification with a part of it, would better qualify for that succession.

The growing importance of the district of Acquia, and the

increasing necessity for operations in the valley of Virginia, have suggested to me the propriety of bringing those sections into closer relations to the army of the Potomac. That, it seems to me, may best be done by sending a Genl. of Division to the Valley, and by placing the Senior Genl., Johnston, in command of a department embracing the three armies, of the Potomac, the Acquia, and the Valley. This has, I believe, been already intimated to you by the Sect. of War. Two rules have been applied in the projected reorganization of the army of the Potomac: 1st, as far as practicable to keep regiments from the same State together; 2nd, to assign Genls. to command the troops of their own State. I have not overlooked the objections to each; but the advantages are believed to outweigh the disadvantages of that arrangement. In distributing the regiments of the several States, it would, I think, be better to place the regiments for the war in the same Brigade of the State, and assign to those brigades the Brigadiers whose services could least easily be dispensed with; for this, among other reasons, I will mention but one: the commission of a Brigadier expires upon the breaking up of his brigade—see the law for their appointment.

Of course I would not, for slight cause, change the relation of troops, and commanders, especially when it has been long continued, and endeared by the trials of battle; but it is to be noted that the regiment was fixed as the unit of organization, and made the connecting link between the soldier and his home; above that, all was subject to the discretion of the Confederate authorities, save the pregnant intimation in relation to the distribution of Genls. among the several States. It was generous and confiding to surrender entirely to the Confederacy the appointment of Genls. and it is the more incumbent on me to carry out, as well as may be, the spirit of the volunteer system. Your military objection to forming a division of the Brigades of a particular State is forcible; in your army, however, that is impracticable. Virginia approximates it most nearly, and it might be well as a defensive measure, when the accession of other troops will justify it, to transfer one Va. Brigade to the Valley district, and fill its place in G. W. Smith's division by a Brigade from another State. The political objection which you suggest is probably answered by the arrangement which is proposed. You will perceive that of the four divisions, three are commanded by soldiers whose attachment to their profession and good sense will probably exclude ideas of political preferment, and the only Maj. Genl. who comes immediately from civil life

has in his division but one regiment from the state of which he is a native.

I will be happy to receive your views and suggestions on all subjects as fully as your convenience will permit. My sole wish is to secure the independence, and peace of the Confederacy; for that I labor assiduously in my present position; and there is none other for which I would not gladly exchange it, if there I could better promote the end to which my life is devoted. Others decided against my known desire and placed me where I am. With great distrust the post was accepted; and my best hope has been, and is, that my co-laborers, purified and elevated by the sanctity of the cause they defend, would forget themselves in their zeal for the public welfare.

In a recent letter of Genl. G. W. Smith, he says:

"The R. R. from Richmond to Manassas does not work effi-
"ciently. Let Beauregard try to apply the remedy. This need
"not interfere with your general agent, nor the general plan of
"the Executive. The subject is of vital importance to this army.
"Beauregard guarantees to regulate it. Try him."

Inform me what your plan is. You must have an agent, and he to be useful must have an appointment. I will gladly accept your aid, and give you my support. Complaints are made to me of shocking neglect of the sick who are sent down in the trains; such as being put in burden cars which have been used to transport horses or provisions, and into which the sick were thrust, without previously cleansing the cars, and there left without water, food, or attention. These representations have been spread among the people, and served to chill the ardor which has filled our ranks with the best men of the land. If such things have occurred, surely others than the R. R. companies must share the responsibility. Your dispatch, I perceive, is dated at Centerville, and otherwise the news has reached me that you had retired from Fairfax C. H. The enemy may attempt to achieve something before the meeting of Congress. In this view, I had contemplated an intrenched line which would compensate for our want of numbers, and would be glad to have your conclusions upon that point.

Genl. Magruder is anticipating an attack at Yorktown. His force is less than I could wish, but we have little to give him; and I suspect that, though it may become a real attack, it is only designed to be a feint, to cover the advance either by way of the upper or lower flank of your position. With my best

wishes for your welfare, and prayers for your success, I am as ever

Your Friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to G. W. Smith.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 24, 1861.

Genl. G. W. Smith,
Manassas, Va.,
My Dear Genl.:

I did not forget your request in relation to Lt. Randal. His case has been examined, and it appears that one instance of which he and many others might justly complain, does exist. It was an error, but how can it be remedied? More officers who ranked Lt. Randal by former commission are in our service than could be appointed to the grade of Captain, so that it is impossible to give him that grade and thus restore his relative position to *Childs*. The other cases are those of Engineers, a corps not having Lieuts., and the members of which were selected for their special qualifications. Before the case was referred back to me, he had concluded it by agreement with the Secty. of War, and I hope satisfactorily to him.

You ask for his appointment as Inspr. Genl. By reference to the law of organization, you will see that no such office is provided for. My meaning in relation to the revival of your ideas of the value of rank, was that you should regard field officers as posts belonging to age or extraordinary merit, and that a soldier, instead of scouting the grade of Brig. Genl., might consider it high enough to repay the labor of a life. Your recommendations indicated a disregard of the propriety of passing through the various steps, as they contemplated the long leaps known rather to Militia than regular troops.

I will not argue further the question of the number of Genls. required for an army as small as yours was stated to be, and see no relation to the matter in the following sentence used by you,—"Now because our rank and file have been so much weakened by disease, it is not to be supposed that the reduced force can be more easily made to beat the enemy than when it was at its full efficient strength."

The whole force for duty was *a little larger* than when the enemy was beaten, the number of Genls. had been more than proportionately increased, and the only supposition presented

was, that a further and great augmentation of Genl.'s was unnecessary. To assume that eight Regts. are enough for a Maj. Genl's command without regard being had to the number of men in a Regt., you must have resorted to some other reason than that of the length of the line to be occupied, which was, I thought, the strongest urged in our conversation.

The remedy of recruiting the ranks which you propose when Regts. are reduced, is more easily proposed than applied to the twelve months' vols. who compose the greater portion of your army.

The recent victory at Leesburg must have a powerful effect, but can hardly change the enemy's plan, though it may postpone its execution. We have reports of the embarkation of a large force at Fortress Monroe. Genl. Magruder expects an immediate attack at Yorktown. There is reason to believe a descent will be made on the coast of No. Ca., and I am looking all round to see where the three thousand troops we have here shall be first and most needed. Oh, that we had plenty of arms and a short time to raise the men to use them!

Very truly yours friend

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 25, 1861.

My Dear Genl.:

Your letters of Oct. 20 & 21 have just been referred to me, and I hasten to reply without consulting the Secty. of War. This enables me to say without connecting his expression of feeling with the present case, that you have alike his admiration and high personal regard, evinced by so many signs that it can not be to me a matter of doubt. As the essence of offense is the motive with which words are spoken, I have thus, it is hoped, removed the gravest part of the transaction.

You were unquestionably wrong in the order to recruit a company for the Provl. Army. The Congress, with jealous care, reserved to the men of such companies the power of selecting their own officers. The Executive could not recruit a company except for the regular army, and as provided by law; to that extent he could delegate his power to Genls. in the field, but he could not do more. I presume the objection was not, that it was to be a socket battery, but was to be the recruiting of a

company for special service, the commander having been selected, not by the men but by the Confederate authority.

More than half the controversies between men arise from difference of education and habits of thought. The letter in relation to the law of organization was written like a lawyer, and had it been addressed to one of that profession would not probably have wounded his sensibilities except in so far as to provoke debate upon the accuracy of his position; but it was addressed to a soldier, sensitive as to the propriety of his motive, and careless about the point which I am sure the Secty. intended alone to present,—inattention to or misconstruction of the laws governing the case. He desired that your position should be entirely satisfactory to you, and that the freest scope should be given for the exercise of your genius and gallantry in the further maintenance of the cause, which amid the smoke and blaze of battle, you have three times illustrated. Prompted by that desire, he anticipated my purpose, which had been communicated to him, to place you in the immediate command of the army of the Potomac, by referring to an order which would soon be issued, and which he hoped would be satisfactory to you.

Now, my dear sir, let me entreat you to dismiss this small matter from your mind; in the hostile masses before you, you have a subject more worthy of your contemplation. The country needs all of your mind and your heart; you have given cause to expect all which man can do, and your fame and her interests require that your energies should have a single object. My prayers always attend you; and with confidence, I turn to you in the hour of peril.

Very truly yr. friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

P. S. The Secty. has not seen your letter, and I will not inform him as to this correspondence.

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Geo. B. Crittenden,[1] *C. S. A.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 25, 1861.

(unofficial)

Dear Genl.:

I have thought of you as my first choice to command a column of ten regiments to advance from Cumberland Gap towards the

[1] Crittenden, George Bibb (1812-1880), a soldier, was born in Russellville, Ky., March 20, 1812, and graduated from West Point in 1832, but resigned his commission April 30, 1833. He was one of the Texas revolu-

center of Kentucky and elsewhere as circumstances will permit.

It has occurred to me that personal considerations might render the service undesirable to you, and I write this unofficial note to request the free expression of your wishes in the matter.

Very truly your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to G. Tochman.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Maj. G. Tochman, Richmond, Va., Oct. 25, 1861.

Sir:

Your letter has been read with surprise. I had supposed that our conversation had relieved your mind of imaginary wrongs, and that so far from being the basis of further complaint, it would have contributed to secure your contentment. But your recollection of the conversation is so very different from my own that it is needless to refer to it except to say that had you been understood by me as merely having sent me a manuscript duplicate of a paper which you had proposed for the press, I should have declined to converse with you on the subject.

You return to your complaint that Mr. Walker's letter had led you to expect the commission of a Brig. Genl., and that you had not been appointed. As heretofore stated to you, Mr. Walker modified the first draft of his letter to you to exclude the conclusion which you now insist upon drawing from its terms. I never understood from him that he had sent the first draft of the letter to you, and had subsequently withdrawn it. He had no authority to promise you the commission of a Brigadier: that appointment could only have been made after a Brigade was organized, and I never contemplated conferring such rank upon you. If it had been otherwise, you are aware that of the troops to whom you refer, but one Regt. and one

tionists in 1835; was captured on the Rio Grande and released through the intervention of the Secretary of State. He served in the Mexican War as captain of mounted rifles; was brevetted major for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco; was restored to the army March 15, 1849, and was made a lieutenant colonel December 30, 1856; resigned again June 10, 1861, and joined the Confederate army as brigadier general; was promoted major general in November; was assigned to the command of the district of East Tennessee; was defeated at Mill Spring, January 19, 1862, and lost his artillery; censured and kept under arrest until November, 1862; resigned commission and served as volunteer. He was State librarian, Frankfort, Ky., 1867-1871. He died in Danville, Ky., November 27, 1880.

Battalion have entered the service, not being enough to have justified the organization of a Brigade. You submit to me whether you were not in honor bound to "resign the Commission of Col. originally given" to you. I was not aware that you had received an appointment to that grade. Considering that you justly might claim to have been encouraged in the expectation of such an appointment, I directed after the troops had been mustered into service that it should be tendered to you, and was informed that you declined it. If you have forgotten your original proposition to me,—the only one I ever directly answered,—it is unnecessary that I should seek to revive your recollection of it. But it may not be amiss to say that when companies were daily offering their services, and the only question was how many we could arm, it could not have been regarded as desirable to find a person who within the limits of our own country would induce unarmed companies to tender their services.

I have the honor to be &c &c.

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to E. Van Dorn.[1]

(From the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.)

Richmond Va.
Oct. 25, 1861

My dear Genl.

The collector for the War Tax of Ala. was appointed some time since otherwise your recommendation would have secured

[1] Van Dorn, Earl (1820-1863), a soldier, was born near Port Gibson, Miss., September 17, 1820, and graduated from West Point in 1842. In the Mexican War he fought at Fort Brown, Monterey, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec, and for the capture of the city of Mexico; was brevetted captain for gallantry at Cerro Gordo and major for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco, and was wounded while entering the city of Mexico. He commanded an expedition against the Comanche Indians in 1858; resigned from the U. S. army January 31, 1861, to enter the military service of the Confederacy; succeeded Jefferson Davis as major general of Mississippi forces in March, 1861; was made a major general in the Confederate army in September of the same year; and became commander-in-chief of the Trans-Mississippi Department in January, 1862. After his defeat at Pea Ridge he was transferred to the command of a division in the army of the Mississippi. He made an unsuccessful attack on Rosecrans at Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862, but won an important engagement at Holly Springs, Miss., December 20, 1862, and was successful in other minor operations. He was shot in a private quarrel and died at Spring Hill, Tenn., May 8, 1863. Consult E. V. D. Miller: A Soldier's Honor, with Reminiscences of Major General Earl Van Dorn, 369 pp., New York, 1902.

attention to Mr. Godhold's claims for the office. Mr Laws has been promoted to be Brig. Genl. Your request in relation to Hill will be remembered but it may not be found consistent to comply with it at least under existing circumstances. My opinion as to your proper position was expressed in the date of your appointment, had I not intended that you should be the 1st Major Genl. it would of later date.

Before the receipt of your appeal, an order had been sent from the War Dept. which conveys the views of the Executive Dept. of the Govt. My belief was that you preferred to have the cavalry, I wished you to have the Mississippians, and Hampton being half Mississippian and his Legion being partly Cavalry; it was decided to give you all the Cavalry, all the Mississippians and Hamptons Legion to form the 1st Division of the Army of the Potomac. The number of Regts. will not equal those of the other three divisions but it will be more than the equivalent of either as troops are usually estimated.

I regret that you should have been wounded and hope that other more permissible considerations than that to which you refer guided the action of the Senior Genl. Your reputation cannot suffer even should it have been as you suppose. The administration but responded to the public judgment in the assignment it made, and I feel secure in the vindication of my decision by the achievements of your sword. Soldiers are properly sensitive, but you must not permit scratches to be mistaken for scar bearing wounds. It will give me great pleasure to see you at your quarters if I should fulfil present anticipation— Your friend

Jeff.n Davis

Maj. Genl. E. Van Dorn
[Indorsed: Jeff.n Davis
1861].

Jefferson Davis to G. W. Smith.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 29, 1861.

Genl. G. W. Smith,
Manassas, Va.,
My Dear Sir:

Yours of the 25th inst. was received a few days since. By the same mail came letters in relation to matters of grave

importance to the public welfare, and my reply to the personal considerations presented in yours has been delayed.

I was surprised to learn that Lt. Randal was with you, having been informed that he had withdrawn his resignation and had repaired to his proper station to resume his place under the command of Genl. Bragg. The question of his relative rank in the Confederate Army was, by my direction, examined and stated. It was hoped that upon a full view of his case wherein it appeared that he could not be further advanced without prejudice to others who ranked him by a grade in the army of their former service, he would cheerfully share the fate of his comrades at Pensacola, for many of whom I have hoped promotion by assignment to temporary rank in the Provl. Army. The hard fate of Genl. Bragg's army has caused many to apply to be transferred to more inviting service. To comply with such requests would have been unjust to the Comdg. Genl., and demoralizing to the Army. The rule adopted was to require as a condition precedent that Genl. Bragg should make or approve of the application. All this, I am informed, was explained to Lt. Randal. To pursue a different course was to encourage the idea that an officer, who from personal considerations and without the sanction of his commanding Genl. should retire from the service at Pensacola, might expect the premium of a higher appointment upon application being made at Richmond.

You inform me that Mr. Randal has resigned, that his resignation has been accepted, that you have nominated him to be your Aide de camp, that you have announced that fact to the troops under your command, that you wish his appointment made out as soon as practicable, and that you desire me to give him as high rank as the senior A. D. C. of a Maj. Genl. may be entitled to.

By reference to the laws of which I suppose you have a copy, you will perceive that the largest number of Aides allowed to any Genl. is two, and the highest rank is that of subaltern. Until recently, they were required to be selected from the line of the Army and now can only be taken from civil life at the discretion of the President. Had Mr. Randal returned to his station at Pensacola, your application for his services as your A. D. C. would properly have been referred by the Adjt. Genl. to Genl. Bragg, and the generosity and self abnegation which has on more important occasions been manifested by that officer leaves little reason to doubt that he would have recommended the transfer desired.

You have a right to recommend persons for appointment, and your recommendations would receive from me a most respectful consideration in any comparison which it might be necessary to institute between applicants. The value of your recommendation could not however be enhanced by the announcement in orders of the fact that you had made it, nor would the power which the law vests in the President and the Congress be thereby diminished. I am therefore at a loss to perceive why the fact of your having made a nomination was announced in orders to the troops.

It is desirable that the relations of Genl.s to the Asst. Adjt. Genls. serving with them should be such as to facilitate the transaction of public business, but the staff proper of Genls. do not include the Adjts. Genl. serving with the armies under their command. One officer of that corps has been appointed to serve with you; if in your temporary command, another is needed, one may be appointed to serve for the occasion with you, and I will call attention to your wish in that connection.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 30, 1861.

Sir:

Yesterday my attention was called to various newspaper publications, purporting to have been sent from Manassas, and to be a synopsis of your report of the battle of the 21st of July last, and in which it is represented that you had been over ruled by me in your plan for a battle with the enemy south of the Potomac, for the capture of Baltimore and Washington, and the liberation of Maryland.

I inquired for your long expected report, and it has been to day submitted to my inspection. It appears by official endorsement to have been received by the Adjt. Genl. on the 15th Oct., though it is dated Augt. 26, 1861.

With much surprise I found that the newspaper statements were sustained by the text of your report. I was surprised because if we did differ in opinion as to the measures and purposes of contemplated campaigns, such fact could have no appropriate place in the report of a battle; further because it seemed

to be an attempt to exalt yourself at my expense; and especially because no such plan as that described was submitted to me. It is true that some time before it was ordered, you expressed a desire for the junction of Genl. Johnston's army with your own. The movement was postponed until the operations of the enemy rendered it necessary and until it became thereby practicable to make it with safety to the valley of Va. Hence I believe was secured the success by which it was attended.

If you have retained a copy of the plan of campaign which you say was submitted to me through Col. Chestnut, allow me to request that you will furnish me with a duplicate of it.

Very respectfully yrs. &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Col. James Chestnut,[1] *Camden, S. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Oct. 30, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

I beg that you will as promptly as possible send me a statement of a communication made to me by yourself on or about the 13th July last, as Aide of Genl. Beauregard in relation to any proposed plan of battle or campaign.

I ask this because I have had my attention directed to a synopsis in the newspapers of Genl. Beauregard's report, so entirely at variance with the facts as they occurred, that I think it well to recur to your recollection of the message brought by you from the General.

I am very truly your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. of the Potomac.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 3, 1861.

Sir:

Reports have been, and are being, widely circulated to the effect that I prevented Genl. Beauregard from pursuing the

[1] Col. A. D. C. to President Davis 1862, brigadier-general C. S. A. April 23, 1864.

enemy after the battle of Manassas, and had subsequently restrained him from advancing upon Washington City. Though such statements may have been made merely for my injury, and in that view might be postponed to a more convenient season; they have acquired importance from the fact that they have served to create distrust, to excite disappointment, and must embarrass the Administration in its further efforts to reinforce the armies of the Potomac, and generally to provide for the public defense. For these public considerations, I call upon you as the Commdg. Genl., and as a party to all the conversations held by me on the 21st & 22nd July, to say whether I obstructed the pursuit of the enemy after the victory at Manassas, or have ever objected to an advance, or other active operation which it was feasible for the army to undertake.

Very respectfully yrs. &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Generals Cooper and Lee.[1]

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Richmond, Va., November 4, 1861.

Generals Cooper and Lee, Confederate States Army.

Gentlemen: The injurious effect produced by statements widely published to show that the army of the Potomac had been needlessly doomed to inactivity by my rejection of plans for vigorous movements against the enemy, which were presented to me by General Beauregard, induces me to ask you to state what was the communication made by that officer, through the Honorable Mr. Chesnut, on the subject of his position at Manassas in July last, and what were the propositions and requests then conveyed to me.

You are invited to refer to the introduction of General Beauregard's report of the battle of Manassas, that you may see how far the statement made therein agrees with the communication made to me by the Honorable Mr. Chestnut, in the interview at which you were present.

I have requested General Beauregard to furnish me with a plan of battle and campaign, which he says in his report was submitted to me, but have not received an answer.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

[1] Generals Samuel Cooper and Robert E. Lee.

Jefferson Davis to Bishop Meade.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 6, 1861.

Bishop Meade
of Virginia,
Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 4th and 6th inst., in which you ask the discharge of young men in the Army who are candidates for the ministry. While recognizing the importance of your request to the well being of society, I am compelled by the necessities of the public defense to decline to make the proposed exception to the general rule governing the discharge of soldiers.

Very respectfully yours,
(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to J. E. Johnston.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 9, 1861.

Genl. J. E. Johnston,
Manassas, Va.,
Sir:

Not having retained copies of many of my letters to you, and now desiring to possess them, I have to request that my friend Chas. D. Fontaine, who will hand you this, may be permitted to make copies of such letters as I have addressed and of such telegrams as I have sent you since you entered on duty in Virginia as an officer of the C. S. Army.

Very respectfully yours &c.
(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Meade, William (1789-1862), a Protestant Episcopal bishop, was born near Millwood, Va., November 11, 1789; was graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) in 1808; studied theology, was ordained deacon in 1811 and priest in 1814. He was assistant in Stone Chapel, Millwood, in 1811; rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, Va., 1811-1813; rector at Millwood, 1821-1829; assistant bishop of Virginia, 1829; pastor of Christ Church, Norfolk, Va., 1834-1836; became bishop of Virginia in 1841; and was president of the Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va., 1842-1862. Bishop Meade was an active member of the American Colonization Society, a founder of the Evangelical Knowledge Society. He died in Richmond, Va., March 14, 1862. He wrote Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia. 2 vols., 985 pp., Philadelphia, 1857, 1861 and 1878.

Telegram from Jefferson Davis to Genl. L. Polk.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 9, 1861.

Genl. L. Polk,
Columbus, Ky.

Your telegram received. Accept for yourself and the officers and men under your command my sincere thanks for the glorious contribution you have just made to our common cause. Our countrymen must long remember gratefully to reward the activity, the skill, the courage and devotion of the army at Belmont.

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 9, 1861.

Sir:

I have habitually neglected to keep copies of my letters and telegrams addressed to you since you entered on duty with the Army of the Potomac. Desiring now to have them, I request that my friend C. D. Fontaine may be permitted to take such copies from the originals in your possession.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Polk, Leonidas (1806-1864), soldier and bishop, was born at Raleigh, N. C., April 10, 1806; studied at the University of North Carolina; graduated from West Point in 1827; prepared for the Protestant Episcopal ministry at the Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.; was ordained deacon in 1830 and priest in 1831. He was rector of Saint Peter's Church, Columbia, Tenn., 1833-1838; was consecrated first missionary bishop of Arkansas, December 9, 1838; and was chosen first bishop of Louisiana in 1841. He promoted the establishment of institutions for higher education in the South and was a leader in founding Sewanee University. In June, after the outbreak of the Civil War, he was made a major-general in the Confederate army and placed in command of Department No. 2, charged with the defense of both sides of the Mississippi River. He commanded the Southern forces at Belmont, Mo., and a corps at Shiloh. He was made a lieutenant-general in October, 1862, and, commanding one of the three corps of the army of Tennessee, he fought at Murfreesboro and Chickamauga. At Chickamauga he was charged by General Bragg with being the cause of losing a victory and although the charge was dismissed by President Davis, he did not again take command of his corps. He was killed June 14, 1864, while reconnoitering near Pine Mountain, Ga. Consult W. M. Polk, Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General. 2 vols., 791 pp., New York, 1893 and 1915.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. W. Smith, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 9, 1861.

Sir:

I have usually neglected to keep copies of my letters to you; and now desiring to have them, request that you will permit my friend, C. D. Fontaine,[1] who bears this, to take copies from the originals in your possession.

Very respectfully yours &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to John Duncan,[2] Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, Va., Nov. 9, 1861.

Can not arm men for the war, as fast as they offer, therefore can not arm twelve (12) months' men.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 10, 1861.

Sir:

The Secretary of War has this morning laid before me yours of the 8th inst. I fully sympathize with your anxiety for the Army of the Potomac. If indeed mine be less than yours, it can only be so because the South, the West, and the East, presenting a like cause for solicitude, have in the same manner demanded my care. Our correspondence must have assured you that I fully concur in your view of the necessity for unity in command, and I hope by a statement of the case to convince you that there has been no purpose to divide your authority by transferring the troops specified in order No. 206 from the center to the left of your Dept.

[1] C. D. Fontaine of Pontotoc, Mississippi.
[2] Captain of Duncan Rifles.

The active campaign in the Greenbrier region was considered as closed for the season. There is reason to believe that the enemy is moving a portion of his forces from that mountain region towards the valley of Va., and that he has sent troops and munitions from the East by the way of the Potomac canal towards the same point. The failure to destroy his communications by the Balt. & Ohio R.R. and by the Potomac canal has left him in possession of great advantages for that operation.

Genl. Jackson for reasons known to you was selected to command the division of the valley, but we had only the militia and one mounted regiment within the district assigned to him. The recent activity of the enemy, the capture of Romney, &c., required that he should have for prompt service a body of Confederate troops to co-operate with the militia of that district. You suggest that such force should be drawn from the Army at the Greenbrier; this was originally considered, and abandoned because they could not reach him in time to anticipate the enemy's concentration, and also because Genl. Jackson was a stranger to them, and time was wanting for the growth of that confidence between the commander and his troops, the value of which need not be urged upon you. We could have sent to him from this place an equal number of regiments, being about double the numerical strength of those specified in the order referred to; but they were parts of a brigade now in the Army of the Potomac, or were ignorant of the country in which they were to serve, and all of them unknown to Genl. Jackson. The troops sent were his old Brigade, had served in the valley and had acquired a reputation which would give confidence to the people of that region, upon whom the General had to rely for his future success. Though the troops sent to you are, as you say, "raw," they have many able officers, and will I doubt not be found reliable in the hour of danger. Their greater numbers will, to you, I hope, more than compensate for the experience of those transferred; while, in the valley, the latter by the moral effect their presence will produce, will more than compensate for the inferiority of their numbers

I have labored to increase the Army of the Potomac, and so far from proposing a reduction of it did not intend to rest content with an exchange of equivalents. In addition to the troops recently sent to you, I expected soon to send further reinforcements by withdrawing a part of the Army from the Greenbrier Mountains. I have looked hopefully forward to the time when our army could assume the offensive, and select the time and place where battles were to be fought, so that ours

should be alternations of activity and repose; theirs, the heavy task of constant watching.

When I last visited your Hd. Qrs., my surprise was expressed at the little increase of your effective force above that of the 21st July last, notwithstanding the heavy reinforcements which, in the mean time, had been sent to you. Since that visit, I have frequently heard of the improved health of the troops, of the return of many who had been absent sick; and some increase has been made by reinforcements. You can then imagine my disappointment at the information you give, that on the day before the date of your letter the Army at your position was no stronger than on the 21st July. I can only repeat what was said to you in our conference at Fairfax C. H., that we are restricted in our capacity to reinforce by the want of arms. Troops to bear the few arms you have in store have been ordered forward. Your view of the magnitude of the calamity of defeat of the Army of the Potomac is entirely concurred in, and every advantage which is attainable should be seized to increase the power of your present force. I will do what I can to augment its numbers, but you must remember that our wants greatly exceed our resources.

Banks' Brigade, we learn, has left the position occupied when I last saw you. Sickles is said to be yet in the lower Potomac, and when your means will enable you to reach him, I still hope he may be crushed.

I will show this reply to the Secty. of War, and hope there will be no misunderstanding between you in future. The success of the army requires harmonious co-operation.

Very respectfully &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to G. T. Beauregard.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 10, 1861.

Genl. Beauregard,
Manassas, Va.,
Sir:

When I addressed you in relation to your complaint because of the letters written to you by Mr. Benjamin, Actg. Secty. of War, it was hoped that you would see that you had misinterpreted his expressions, and would be content. But while in yours of the 5th inst., you accept the assurance given that Mr. Benjamin

could not have intended to give you offence, you serve notice that your "motives must not be called into question," and that when your "errors are pointed out, it must be done in a proper tone and style," and express the fear that Mr. Benjamin "will under all circumstances view only the *legal* aspect of things and that insensibly this Army and myself (yourself) will be put into the straight jackets of the law", &c.

I do not feel competent to instruct Mr. Benjamin in the matter of style; there are few who the public would probably believe fit for that task. But the other point quoted from your letter presents matter for graver consideration, and it is that which induces me to reply. It can not be peculiar to Mr. Benjamin to look at every exercise of official power in its legal aspects, and you surely did not intend to inform me that your army and yourself are outside of the limits of the law.

It is my duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and I cannot recognize the pretension of any one that their restraint is too narrow for him.

The Congress carefully reserved to all volunteers the selection of their Company officers, and provided various modes for receiving them into service as organized bodies. When you disregarded that right, and the case was brought to the notice of the Secty. of War, it could but create surprise, and the most mild and considerate course which could have been adopted was to check further progress under your order, and inform you of the error committed.

Very respectfully yours &c.

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to James Chestnut.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 11, 1861.

Hon. James Chestnut,

My Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 2d inst. in reply to my inquiry of the 30th ult. My memory is confirmed as to the fact that you delivered to me orally a message from Genl. Beauregard, but left with me no plan of battle or of campaign; and I regret, as our conversation was to be reported and to be filed with the papers of Genl. Beauregard, that the propositions were not reduced to writing and submitted for a written reply, or at least that I was not permitted to see the report of the

interview before it became a public document. I well remember that you came to explain the hazard of Genl. Beauregard's position and to ask for reinforcements, suggesting that Genl. Johnston should make a junction with him, but do not remember that any proposition was made to select Fairfax C. H. as a battle field, and can not realize how I should have objected to the choice of that field, as I did not then know how bad a selection it would have been. The rest seems to have been merely hypothetical propositions such as would only have impressed themselves on my memory by their errors, both as to numbers of available troops, and topography of the country. The Genls. report does not give those details, but presents a summary of things which no one desired more than myself, with a conclusion that the plan for their achievement was not accepted &c. Thus has apparent confirmation been given to the slander that I would not permit the Army to advance to the capture of Washington and the liberation of Maryland; attributing to me political views which I think you must know were not entertained by me. The importance of this is not any effect it may have on me individually, but is the injury inflicted on the public interest by the belief created that the Army has been doomed to inactivity to avoid the exasperation of the enemy.

That I have not heeded "the unwise babbling of some nor the deliberate malice of many," is to be found in the fact that they were never noticed by me until a respectable foundation appeared for them. My confidence and friendship for Genl. Beauregard have been unmistakeably manifested, and none can regret more than myself the error he has committed in bringing extraneous matter into his report of a battle, without any perceivable motive for so doing which is consistent with the good opinion I entertained of him. To a request for a duplicate of the plan of battle and campaign which he had reported was submitted to me through you, he replies by assuring me that the plan as stated in his report is the one you were sent to submit. That he has a written statement of the result of your conference with me, which has been sent to New Orleans and of which he promises to furnish a copy. Your letter shows that you bore merely a message from Genl. Beauregard, and his official announcement of a *plan* of operations *submitted* but *not accepted*, is poorly sustained by reference to a conversation with me by a third person, even though it was reduced to writing after having been orally communicated to him.

When the newspapers published a synopsis of Genl. Beauregard's report, in which reference is made to the plan said to

have been submitted to me by him, I could not believe he was responsible for the statement until I saw his report. I accept your friendly advice in the spirit which suggests it, and can assure you that our cause is to me so far above any personal considerations that I can find no difficulty in fully co-operating with any one who can and will promote its success.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President.)

Richmond, November 18, 1861.

The Congress of the Confederate States.[1]

The few weeks which have elapsed since your adjournment have brought us so near the close of the year that we are now able to sum up its general results. The retrospect is such as should fill the hearts of our people with gratitude to Providence for his kind interposition in their behalf. Abundant yields have rewarded the labor of the agriculturist, whilst the manufacturing industry of the Confederate States was never so prosperous as now. The necessities of the times have called into existence new branches of manufactures and given a fresh impulse to the activity of those heretofore in operation. The means of the Confederate States for manufacturing the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves increase as the conflict continues, and we are gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of such military stores and munitions as are indispensable for war.

The operations of the Army, soon to be partially interrupted by the approaching winter, have afforded a protection to the country and shed a luster upon its arms through the trying vicissitudes of more than one arduous campaign which entitle our brave volunteers to our praise and our gratitude. From its commencement to the present period the war has been enlarging its proportions and expanding its boundaries so as to include new fields. The conflict now extends from the shores of the Chesapeake to the confines of Missouri and Arizona; yet sudden calls from the remotest points for military aid have been met with promptness enough not only to avert disaster in the face of

[1] Fifth session. Met at Richmond, Va., November 18, 1861. Adjourned February 17, 1862.

superior numbers, but also to roll back the tide of invasion from the border.

When the war commenced the enemy were possessed of certain strategic points and strong places within the Confederate States. They greatly exceeded us in numbers, in available resources, and in the supplies necessary for war. Military establishments had been long organized and were complete; the Navy, and for the most part the Army, once common to both, were in their possession. To meet all this we had to create not only an Army in the face of war itself, but also the military establishments necessary to equip and place it in the field. It ought indeed to be a subject of gratulation that the spirit of the volunteers and the patriotism of the people have enabled us, under Providence, to grapple successfully with these difficulties. A succession of glorious victories at Bethel, Bull Run, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Leesburg, and Belmont has checked the wicked invasion which greed of gain and the unhallowed lust of power brought upon our soil, and has proved that numbers cease to avail when directed against a people fighting for the sacred right of self-government and the privileges of freemen. After more than seven months of war the enemy have not only failed to extend their occupancy of our soil, but new States and Territories have been added to our Confederacy, while, instead of their threatened march of unchecked conquest, they have been driven, at more than one point, to assume the defensive, and, upon a fair comparison between the two belligerents as to men, military means, and financial condition, the Confederate States are relatively much stronger now than when the struggle commenced.

Since your adjournment the people of Missouri have conducted the war in the face of almost unparalleled difficulties with a spirit and success alike worthy of themselves and of the great cause in which they are struggling. Since that time Kentucky, too, has become the theater of active hostilities. The Federal forces have not only refused to acknowledge her right to be neutral, and have insisted upon making her a party to the war, but have invaded her for the purpose of attacking the Confederate States. Outrages of the most despotic character have been perpetrated upon her people; some of her most eminent citizens have been seized and borne away to languish in foreign prisons, without knowing who were their accusers or the specific charges made against them, while others have been forced to abandon their homes, families, and property, and seek a refuge in distant lands.

Finding that the Confederate States were about to be invaded through Kentucky, and that her people, after being deceived into a mistaken security, were unarmed and in danger of being subjugated by the Federal forces, our armies were marched into that State to repel the enemy and prevent their occupation of certain strategic points which would have given them great advantages in the contest—a step which was justified not only by the necessities of self-defense on the part of the Confederate States, but also by a desire to aid the people of Kentucky. It was never intended by the Confederate Government to conquer or coerce the people of that State; but, on the contrary, it was declared by our generals that they would withdraw their troops if the Federal Government would do likewise. Proclamation was also made of the desire to respect the neutrality of Kentucky and the intention to abide by the wishes of her people as soon as they were free to express their opinions. These declarations were approved by me, and I should regard it as one of the best effects of the march of our troops into Kentucky if it should end in giving to her people liberty of choice and a free opportunity to decide their own destiny according to their own will.

The Army has been chiefly instrumental in prosecuting the great contest in which we are engaged, but the Navy has also been effective in full proportion to its means. The naval officers, deprived to a great extent of an opportunity to make their professional skill available at sea, have served with commendable zeal and gallantry on shore and upon inland waters, further detail of which will be found in the reports of the Secretaries of the Navy and War. In the transportation of the mails many difficulties have arisen, which will be found fully developed in the report of the Postmaster General. The absorption of the ordinary means of transportation for the movements of troops and military supplies; the insufficiency of the rolling stock of railroads for the accumulation of business resulting both from military operations and the obstruction of water communication by the presence of the enemy's fleet; the failure, and even refusal, of contractors to comply with the terms of their agreements; the difficulties inherent in inaugurating so vast and complicated a system as that which requires postal facilities for every town and village in a territory so extended as ours, have all combined to impede the best-directed efforts of the Postmaster General, whose zeal, industry, and ability have been taxed to the utmost extent. Some of these difficulties can only be overcome by time and an improved condition of the country upon the restoration of peace, but others may be remedied by legislation, and

your attention is invited to the recommendations contained in the report of the head of that Department.

The condition of the Treasury will doubtless be a subject of anxious inquiry on your part. I am happy to say that the financial system already adopted has worked well so far, and promises good results for the future. To the extent that Treasury notes may be issued the Government is enabled to borrow money without interest, and thus facilitate the conduct of the war. This extent is measured by the portion of the field of circulation which these notes can be made to occupy. The proportion of the field thus occupied depends again upon the amount of the debts for which they are receivable; and when dues, not only to the Confederate and State governments, but also to corporations and individuals, are payable in this medium, a large amount of it may be circulated at par. There is every reason to believe that the Confederate Treasury note is fast becoming such a medium. The provision that these notes shall be convertible into Confederate stock bearing 8 per cent interest, at the pleasure of the holder, insures them against a depreciation below the value of that stock, and no considerable fall in that value need be feared so long as the interest shall be punctually paid. The punctual payment of this interest has been secured by the act passed by you at the last session, imposing such a rate of taxation as must provide sufficient means for that purpose.

For the successful prosecution of this war it is indispensable that the means of transporting troops and military supplies be furnished, as far as possible, in such manner as not to interrupt the commercial intercourse between our people nor place a check on their productive energies. To this end the means of transportation from one section of our country to the other must be carefully guarded and improved. And this should be the object of anxious care on the part of State and Confederate governments, so far as they may have power over the subject.

We have already two main systems of through transportation from the north to the south—one from Richmond along the seaboard; the other through Western Virginia to New Orleans. A third might be secured by completing a link of about forty miles between Danville, in Virginia, and Greensboro, in North Carolina. The construction of this comparatively short line would give us a through route from north to south in the interior of the Confederate States and give us access to a population and to military resources from which we are now in great measure debarred. We should increase greatly the safety and capacity of our means for transporting men and military supplies. If

the construction of this road should, in the judgment of Congress as it is in mine, be indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes, and attention is invited to the practicability of securing its early completion by giving the needful aid to the company organized for its construction and administration.

If we husband our means and make a judicious use of our resources, it would be difficult to fix a limit to the period during which we could conduct a war against the adversary whom we now encounter. The very efforts which he makes to isolate and invade us must exhaust his means, whilst they serve to complete the circle and diversify the productions of our industrial system. The reconstruction which he seeks to effect by arms becomes daily more and more palpably impossible. Not only do the causes which induced us to separate still exist in full force, but they have been strengthened, and whatever doubt may have lingered in the minds of any must have been completely dispelled by subsequent events. If instead of being a dissolution of a league it were indeed a rebellion in which we are engaged, we might find ample vindication for the course we have adopted in the scenes which are now being enacted in the United States. Our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they had been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connection. When they see a President making war without the assent of Congress; when they behold judges threatened because they maintain the writ of *habeas corpus* so sacred to freemen; when they see justice and law trampled under the armed heel of military authority, and upright men and innocent women dragged to distant dungeons upon the mere edict of a despot; when they find all this tolerated and applauded by a people who had been in the full enjoyment of freedom but a few months ago —they believe that there must be some radical incompatibility between such a people and themselves. With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but the separation is final, and for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative.

The nature of the hostilities which they have waged against us must be characterized as barbarous wherever it is understood. They have bombarded undefended villages without giving notice to women and children to enable them to escape, and in one instance selected the night as the period when they might sur-

prise them most effectually whilst asleep and unsuspicious of danger. Arson and rapine, the destruction of private houses and property, and injuries of the most wanton character, even upon noncombatants, have marked their forays along our borders and upon our territory. Although we ought to have been admonished by these things that they were disposed to make war upon us in the most cruel and relentless spirit, yet we were not prepared to see them fit out a large naval expedition, with the confessed purpose not only to pillage, but to incite a servile insurrection in our midst. If they convert their soldiers into incendiaries and robbers, and involve us in a species of war which claims noncombatants, women, and children as its victims, they must expect to be treated as outlaws and enemies of mankind. There are certain rights of humanity which are entitled to respect even in war, and he who refuses to regard them forfeits his claims, if captured, to be considered as a prisoner of war, but must expect to be dealt with as an offender against all law, human and divine.

But not content with violating our rights under the law of nations at home, they have extended these injuries to us within other jurisdictions. The distinguished gentlemen whom, with your approval at the last session, I commissioned to represent the Confederacy at certain foreign courts, have been recently seized by the captain of a U. S. ship of war on board a British steamer on their voyage from the neutral Spanish port of Havana to England. The United States have thus claimed a general jurisdiction over the high seas, and entering a British ship, sailing under its country's flag, violated the rights of embassy, for the most part held sacred even amongst barbarians, by seizing our ministers whilst under the protection and within the dominions of a neutral nation. These gentlemen were as much under the jurisdiction of the British Government upon that ship and beneath its flag as if they had been on its soil, and a claim on the part of the United States to seize them in the streets of London would have been as well founded as that to apprehend them where they were taken. Had they been malefactors and citizens even of the United States they could not have been arrested on a British ship or on British soil, unless under the express provisions of a treaty and according to the forms therein provided for the extradition of criminals.

But rights the most sacred seem to have lost all respect in their eyes. When Mr. Faulkner, a former minister of the United States to France, commissioned before the secession of Virginia, his native State, returned in good faith to Washington to settle

his accounts and fulfill all the obligations into which he had entered, he was perfidiously arrested and imprisoned in New York, where he now is. The unsuspecting confidence with which he reported to his Government was abused, and his desire to fulfill his trust to them was used to his injury. In conducting this war we have sought no aid and proposed no alliances offensive and defensive abroad. We have asked for a recognized place in the great family of nations, but in doing so we have demanded nothing for which we did not offer a fair equivalent. The advantages of intercourse are mutual amongst nations, and in seeking to establish diplomatic relations we were only endeavoring to place that intercourse under the regulation of public law. Perhaps we had the right, if we had chosen to exercise it, to ask to know whether the principle that "blockades to be binding must be effectual," so solemnly announced by the great powers of Europe at Paris, is to be generally enforced or applied only to particular parties. When the Confederate States, at your last session, became a party to the declaration reaffirming this principle of international law, which has been recognized so long by publicists and governments, we certainly supposed that it was to be universally enforced. The customary law of nations is made up of their practice rather than their declarations; and if such declarations are only to be enforced in particular instances at the pleasure of those who make them, then the commerce of the world, so far from being placed under the regulation of a general law, will become subject to the caprice of those who execute or suspend it at will. If such is to be the course of nations in regard to this law, it is plain that it will thus become a rule for the weak and not for the strong.

Feeling that such views must be taken by the neutral nations of the earth, I have caused the evidence to be collected which proves completely the utter inefficiency of the proclaimed blockade of our coast, and shall direct it to be laid before such governments as shall afford us the means of being heard. But, although we should be benefited by the enforcement of this law so solemnly declared by the great powers of Europe, we are not dependent on that enforcement for the successful prosecution of the war. As long as hostilities continue the Confederate States will exhibit a steadily increasing capacity to furnish their troops with food, clothing, and arms. If they should be forced to forego many of the luxuries and some of the comforts of life, they will at least have the consolation of knowing that they are thus daily becoming more and more independent of the rest of the world. If in this process labor in the Confederate States

should be gradually diverted from those great Southern staples which have given life to so much of the commerce of mankind into other channels, so as to make them rival producers instead of profitable customers, they will not be the only or even the chief losers by this change in the direction of their industry. Although it is true that the cotton supply from the Southern States could only be totally cut off by the subversion of our social system, yet it is plain that a long continuance of this blockade might, by a diversion of labor and an investment of capital in other employments, so diminish the supply as to bring ruin upon all those interests of foreign countries which are dependent on that staple. For every laborer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupation.

While the war which is waged to take from us the right of self-government can never attain that end, it remains to be seen how far it may work a revolution in the industrial system of the world, which may carry suffering to other lands as well as to our own. In the meantime we shall continue this struggle in humble dependence upon Providence, from whose searching scrutiny we cannot conceal the secrets of our hearts, and to whose rule we confidently submit our destinies. For the rest we shall depend upon ourselves. Liberty is always won where there exists the unconquerable will to be free, and we have reason to know the strength that is given by a conscious sense not only of the magnitude but of the righteousness of our cause.

JEFF'N DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 18, 1861.

Sir:

Upon representations as to the defective construction of the batteries at and near Evansport, and the hazard of bombardment by batteries recently established by the enemy on the Maryland shore, directions have been given to remove the guns to "Cockpit" as recommended by Genl. Whiting and others. It will, however, give to the enemy opportunity to make a landing at Ship Point and thence threaten the position of Genl. Holmes. If a large force should be landed on the Potomac below Genl.

Holmes with a view to turn or to attack him, the value of the position between Dumfries and Fredericksburg will be so great that I wish you to give to that line your personal inspection. With a sufficient force, the enemy may be prevented from leaving his boats, should he be able to cross the river. To make the force available at either of the points which he may select, it will be necessary to improve the roads connecting the advanced posts with the armies of the Potomac and of the Acquia, as well as with each other, and to have the requisite teams to move heavy guns with celerity. At Cockpit, if the topography has been correctly reported, our batteries will not be in danger of bombardment from the Maryland shore, but will be more liable to a land attack than when at Evansport; and being further removed from support by Genl. Holmes will need to have a larger garrison in the event supposed. As I notified you, unarmed troops have been sent to receive the arms in your possession; and three(3) armed regiments have been sent to your department since my last letter to you (the troops from Staunton may be soon expected). We must ask of our army that it will perform such service as has distinguished it heretofore, and we hope that our just cause is safe in its keeping, though if it were possible I would send to you many more troops.

Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFF'N. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 22, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

Chas. E. L. Stuart, in a letter to me about his wish to be in active service, refers to you as having written to him that "recent circumstances forbade you to make a special call" &c. This suggests that you referred to the explanatory letter I wrote to you about the case of Mr. Randal, and induces me to say, that if he does not choose to adopt the view presented of his case in my letter to you, but prefers to resign, I will act upon your application for him as your Aid, appointing him a lieutenant in the Provisional Army to qualify him for that station. I will add that it still seems better that he should not adhere to his purpose to leave the Confederate Army, and have hoped that due reflection would bring him to the same conclusion. If you have supposed any unkindness to him or to you, dictated the letter

before referred to, you have been greatly mistaken. Neither the circumstances nor the state of my feelings incline me to alienation from any one who confronts our common enemy in this war for constitutional liberty and State rights.

Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

November 24th, 1861.

I take this opportunity to say from the intimacy I have had with General Lee that I have a very high estimation of his science, penetration and enlightened judgment. I am also delighted with his high head and cultivated bearing. If he has a fault it is over-caution which results from his scientific mind. I think, however, the post he is at eminently suits his attainments and character. If he had more men like General Evans to make guerilla dashes, it might be of great service to him, particularly if the enemy land large forces on our coast with a view to permanent interior invasion. . . .

Ripley is unfit for anything but to fight in batteries, and to fight such a fort as Sumter with eighty-nine guns with mortars of largest calibre there is no man his superior. . . . Trapier you know is now ordered to Florida. If you do not appoint Clingman then you should send down as soon as possible a thorough General who will take command of details more than Lee can possibly do, and who will combine undoubted military talent with a high and intrepid character. . . .

I am sorely distressed as to the want of arms particularly as I gave out to Lee North Carolina, Florida, and even to Fredericksburg in Virginia. Besides the arms, I sent with our troops freely from the first, and I was induced to believe that I would be supplied by Fall. I knew we would be invaded as soon as Fivet fell, if there was no movement made by our army on the Potomac. I trust you will pardon my writing this freely, but the times are serious, and I owe it to you as to my state to write freely and fully, but confidentially.

Robert E. Lee[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Coosawhatchie, S. C., November 24, 1861.

His Excellency, The President of the Confederate States:

My absence on an examination of the coast of South Carolina and Georgia has prevented until now my reply to your note of the 4th instant, asking what communication was made by General Beauregard to you through the Honorable Mr. Chesnut, on the subject of his position at Manassas in July last, and what were the propositions and requests conveyed by him.

I have not seen the report of General Beauregard of the battle of Manassas, and am unable to refer to his introductory statement to which you call my attention. I cannot therefore say how far it agrees with the communication of Mr. Chesnut. I recollect, however, that at the interview at which I was present Mr. Chesnut urged, on the part of General Beauregard, the importance of reinforcing the army of the Potomac to enable it to oppose the Federal forces accumulating in its front. As a

[1] Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870), an American soldier, the youngest son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, was born at Stratford, Va., January 19, 1807, and graduated from West Point in 1829. He became first lieutenant in 1836 and captain in 1838. In the Mexican War he repeatedly won distinction for bravery; was brevetted major at Cerro Gordo, lieutenant-colonel at Contreras and Churubusco, and Colonel at Chapultepec. He strengthened the defenses of Baltimore, 1849-1852; was Superintendent of West Point, 1852-1855; was made lieutenant-colonel March 3, 1855; commanded the troops sent to deal with the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859, and captured Brown after his attempt to excite the slaves of Virginia to an incendiary attack on the whites, and was made colonel March 16, 1861; when President Lincoln offered him the command of the Army of the United States, he declined, saying that he could take no part in a war against the Southern States He resigned his commission in the U. S. Army April 25, 1861 and was appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army the 25th of the following month. The military operations with which the War opened were directed by General Lee and President Davis. He was made a full general, August 31, 1861, and devoted his time to fortifying the Atlantic coast. When the Army of the Potomac was about to descend upon Richmond, he was recalled and on May 31, 1862, was assigned to the command of the famous Army of Northern Virginia. His first success was the "Seven Days' Battle" which was followed up by the crushing defeat of the Federal Army under General Pope, August 29 to 30, 1862. He subsequently invaded Maryland and ended the year with the great victory at Fredericksburg, won against odds of more than two to one. At Gettysburg the fortune turned decisively against him. In 1864, he fought the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor and the siege of Petersburg; his successes in these desperate conflicts against great odds give him rank as the greatest military genius of America. In April, 1865, he was forced to abandon Petersburg and surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House the 9th of April. Lee was president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) from August, 1865, until his death, October 12, 1870. Consult T. N. Page: Robert E. Lee, Man and Soldier, 734 pp., New York, 1911.

means of accomplishing this end, he suggested that a portion of the army in the Shenandoah Valley, under General Johnston, be ordered to join it. With the aid thus afforded, General Beauregard thought he could successfully resist an attack of the enemy. Should he succeed in repulsing him, he could in turn reinforce General Johnston. Should General Johnston succeed in driving back General Patterson, then in his front, he could reinforce the army in Northwestern Virginia. The advantages of the union of the armies on the Potomac had been more than once the subject of consideration by you, and I do not recollect that at the interview in question they were less apparent. The difficulty of timing the march of the troops so as to benefit one army without jeopardizing the object of the other, was therefore mainly considered, and you decided that the movements of the enemy in and about Alexandria were not sufficiently demonstrative as to warrant the withdrawal of any of the forces from the Shenandoah Valley. A few days afterward, however, I think three or four, the reports from General Beauregard showed so clearly the enemy's purpose, that you ordered General Johnston with his effective force to march at once to the support of General Beauregard, and directed General Holmes, with such troops as could be spared from the defence of the approaches of Fredericksburg to move upon Manassas.

The successful combination of the armies was made, and the glorious victory of July 21st followed.

I have the honor, etc.,

R. E. Lee.

Jefferson Davis to His Excellency, Francis Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 29, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 24th inst. and thank you for writing so freely.

Generals Evans and Pemberton will be sent to Genl. Lee immediately.

The deficiencies of which you speak in the character of your Brig. Genls. will, I hope, be compensated for by the presence of Genl. Lee and the addition of Genl. Pemberton.

More than half the amount of powder received was ordered to be furnished to Genl. Lee. The whole amount was less than asked for by you.

In regard to arms, I wish indeed that I had more to give you. Gov. Letcher has now five hundred (500) for you in addition to the five hundred previously furnished. This is but a small supply, but will be increased as fast as our means will admit.

Very respectfully & truly

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 30, 1861.

General:

I have just received your letter of the 28th inst. in reference to Mr. Randal.

The nominations for field officers, Captains, 1st Lieutenants, and some of the 2nd Lieutenants, of our only regular cavalry regiment had been presented to Congress before the receipt of your letter; but I will have Mr. Randal appointed 1st Lt. in the Provisional Army to qualify him to serve on your staff as Aide-de-Camp.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 30, 1861.

"Telegram."

Your letter by Col. Chestnut received. I have no power to appoint a Brigadier until a brigade has been raised and received into service. Your recommendations is regarded with the respect given to everything you propose in relation to the defense of S. Carolina. It is very desirable that the troops should be for as long terms as you can get them. Two Brigadiers from the regular service have been ordered to join Genl. Lee. Three light batteries will go forward without delay.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. P. Harris,[1] *C. S. Congress.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

My Dear Sir: Richmond, Va., Dec. 13, 1861.

Language was said by Talleyrand to be useful for the concealment of one's thoughts; but in our day, it fails to communicate any thought. If it had been otherwise, the complaint in relation to Genl. Price of which you speak could not have been made. The commissioners of Mo. were informed that when that State offered troops they would be organized according to our military laws, and generals would be appointed for brigades and divisions. Until then, I have no power to appoint Generals for those troops. The same statement, substantially, was made to members of Congress from Mo. who called on me yesterday. They were also told that, from conversation with well informed persons, and from correspondence now on file in the War Dept., I was convinced that it was needful to the public interest that a Genl. should be sent to the Arkansas and Missouri division who had not been connected with any of the troops on that line of operations; and to the statement that the Mo. troops would not *fully* enlist under any one except Genl. Price, I asked if they required their General to be put in command of the troops of Arkansas, of Texas, and of other Southern States. To bring these different forces into harmonious co-operation is a necessity. I have sought to effect it by selecting Genl. Heth to command them in combination. If it is designed by calling Heth a "West Point Cadet" merely to object to his education in the science of war, it may pass for what it is worth; but if it be intended to assert that he is without experience, his years of active and distinguished service on the frontier of Mo., and the territory west of it, will to those who examine before they censure be a sufficient answer. The federal forces are not hereafter, as heretofore, to be commanded by "pathfinders" and holiday soldiers, but by men of military educations and experience in war; the contest is therefore to be on a scale of very different proportions than that of the partisan warfare witnessed during the past summer and fall. I have, long since, learned to bear hasty censure in the hope that justice if tardy is sure, and in any event to find consolation in the assurance that all my ends have been my country's.

With high respect,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] 1818-1891. Congressman from Mississippi in the Thirty-third Congress; member of the Confederate Congress; acknowledged leader of the Mississippi Bar from 1865 to 1891, the date of his death.

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Saml. G. French,[1] Evansport, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 7, 1861.

General:

Please inform me at your earliest convenience as to the practicability and expediency of protecting the guns and cannoneers of your batteries from the vertical fire of the enemy by coverings of timber and earth, also as to what has been done to the roads in your command, to prepare them for the transportation of heavy artillery, and for other military operations; and to what extent they can be improved in this respect.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Gov. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, Va., Dec. 13, 1861.

Keep the regiment, to which you refer, on the sea coast until further orders. There is a confusion in numbering the regiments so that I can not tell which one it is. We will endeavor to organize a force better adapted to sea coast defense than an Infantry regiment, and duly inform you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. L. Polk.

(President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 13, 1861.

Sir:

I have the pleasure to transmit, herewith, a copy of a complimentary Resolution passed by the Congress of the Confederate States, and approved Dec. 6th, 1861.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] French, Samuel Gibbs (1818-1910), an American soldier, was born in Gloucester County, N. J., November 22, 1818, and was graduated from West Point in 1843. He served in the military occupation of Texas, 1845-1846; fought, in the Mexican War, in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Buena Vista, and in the siege of Monterey; was brevetted 1st lieutenant for gallantry at Monterey, was severely wounded in the battle of Buena Vista and brevetted captain for gallantry. He resigned from the army May 31, 1856, and became a cotton planter near Greenville, Miss. In the Civil War, casting his lot with the Confederacy, he was made chief of ordnance in the army of Mississippi, February 12, 1861; a brigadier general in the army of the Confederacy in October of the same year;

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Sterling Price.[1]

(President's Letter Book.)

Sir: Richmond, Va., Dec. 13, 1861.

I have the pleasure to transmit herewith a copy of a complimentary Resolution passed by the Congress of the Confederate States, and approved Dec. 3, 1861.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

G. W. C. Lee to Genl. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

My Dear Genl.: Richmond, Va., Dec. 17 1861.

The President has just authorized me to inform you that since the date of his last letter to you in reference to Randal, another regular regiment of cavalry has been in progress of organization, and that Randal has been nominated as 1st Lieut. in that regiment, according to his relative rank in the U. S. Army.

Very respectfully & truly,
(Signed) G. W. C. LEE
A. D. C.

and a major general August 31, 1862. He commanded a division at Petersburg, Va.; served at Harrison's Landing July 4, 1862; was subsequently transferred to Hood's army in the west and directed to break Sherman's line of communication by the capture of Allatoona Pass, which he was unable to do. He died in 1910. His autobiography, "Two Wars," 404 pp., was published in Nashville in 1901.

[1] Price, Sterling (1809-1867), a soldier, was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, September 20, 1809; was educated at Hampden Sidney College; admitted to the bar and removed to Keytesville, Mo., in 1831. He was a member of the State House of Representatives, and Speaker, 1840-1844; member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1845, to August 12, 1846; was made colonel of the second Missouri Infantry, August 12, 1846, for service in the Mexican War; was promoted to the rank of brigadier general of volunteers July 20, 1847; was Governor of Missouri 1853-1857; State Bank Commissioner 1857-1861; and as president of the conservative Missouri convention that met in March, 1861, opposed secession. He later joined the Southern Confederacy; was appointed major general of the Missouri State Guard, May 18, 1861; was in the battle of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861; was made a major general March 6, 1862, fought and was wounded in the battle of Pea Ridge March 7, 1862; was assigned to the command of Army of the West the same month, but operated in Tennessee and Northern Mississippi until 1863. He was defeated at Iuka, September 19, 1862; participated in an unsuccessful attack on Corinth October 3 and 4, 1862, made a raid into Missouri in September, 1864, but was forced to retreat to Arkansas. In 1865 he made an attempt to found in Mexico a colony of Southern emigrants. He died in St. Louis, Mo., September 29, 1867. Consult T. L. Snead, The Fight for Missouri, 322 pp., New York, 1885.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Chas. F. Collier, Chn. Committee, House of Dels., General Assembly of Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 19, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

In reply to your communication of yesterday I transmit herewith a statement from the Commissary Genl. on the subject of salt, from which it appears that the General Government can not, at this time, give up any of the salt under its control.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 20, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

I received your note of the 9th inst., with enclosed ordinance of Va. Convention to reorganize the militia, some days ago; but have been obliged to delay replying until I could get some information on the subject.

The ordinance in question appears to be an amendment to the militia laws of the State, and although apparently difficult of execution is but little more so than these latter. If the provisions of the old laws have been carried out, the new will not require much additional labor; and notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of executing the ordinance in question, if it can be done, much will be gained in the physical condition and term of service of the militia drafted in accordance with its provisions. It does not appear to be intended to interfere with the volunteer system, which has been found efficient and most acceptable to a free and patriotic people. On the contrary, it seems designed to promote voluntary enlistments.

I have had but little time or opportunity for investigating this subject, and do not attach much weight to these impressions; but merely give them for what they are worth.

Very respectfully & truly,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Sterling Price, Comdg. Mo. Forces.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 20, 1861.

My Dear Genl.:

I have received with much pleasure your letter of the 10th ult., with the enclosed correspondence. It was not needed to

make me appreciate the difficulties and embarrassments under which you have labored, nor the sacrifices and devotion displayed in the cause of Missouri and the South.

For all this you have not only my thanks and those of the good people of your own State; but also those of the whole South.

We, here, have not forgotten you; but on the contrary, have been most anxious to give to Mo. all the aid in our power, and have been hopefully looking for the tender of troops from Missouri and Arkansas, to be organized into Brigades and Divisions under the laws of the Confederate States. We have, at present, no troops to give you except those under Genl. McCoulloch—and you are aware of their condition.

I was sorry to learn from Col. Cooks that the term of service of your troops is for so short a period, and that the term of enlistment of so many is about to expire. You know the disadvantage of short terms of service. Can you not organize a force for the war? So long as it lasts, the people of the country in which it is carried on must engage in it; and until our independence is recognized and peace restored, the only question should be,—how can these ends be best promoted.

The agreement entered into with Genl. Fremont was very desirable to us; and it is to be regretted that his removal has made the contract void.

You may rest assured that the welfare of Missouri is as dear to me as that of other States of the Confederacy, and that I will do all in my power to assist her in her struggle to maintain the common cause, and to vindicate her freedom and sovereignty.

Accept my most friendly remembrance, and assurances of my best wishes for your success and happiness.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jackson of Missouri.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Dec. 21, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

We are anxious that the troops of Missouri should be tendered to the Confederate Government, in order that they may be organized into Brigades and Divisions, and General Officers be appointed for them; or, if preferable to them, received as independent companies or battalions, for such further organiza-

tion as the interest of the service and the character of the troops may indicate. By this it is thought that their efficiency will be increased, and that they will be relieved from the anomalous position they now occupy, as militia of the Confederate States without being a part of their organized army.

This arrangement seems very desirable to me, both for the sake of the Missouri troops and the advancement of our cause; and I hope it will meet with your concurrence.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(By telegraph.)
Richmond, Jany. 3, 1862.

Orders were sent, some time since, to Genl. Lovell for the defense of the coast of Mississippi, and I hope he has taken measures which it would be too late for me to initiate. The movement no doubt is intended against Mobile or New Orleans, but I shall much regret if any successful raid be made against the villages on our coast.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. C. F. Jackson of Missouri.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Jany. 8, 1862.

Sir:

Your letter of the 30th ult. sent to me through the Hon. J. B. Clarke, together with one addressed to himself, has been this day received.

Viewed as a reply to mine of the 21st, it is most extraordinary that you should recite the sufferings and ask me to appoint a commander of the militia over whom you had control, and concerning the transfer of whom I had written to you, pointing out the necessity for their tender to the Confederate Government in order that they might be put on the footing of other volunteers in the Confederate service, that Brigades and Divisions might be organized and Commanding Genls. be appointed for them. You seem only to remember what others have not done; else, in enumeration of the privations of your own militia, not mustered into the Confederate service, you would have mentioned the

relief afforded to them by the agent of the Confederate Government sent by me with money to cover more than the objects you and Genl. Atchison originally specified.

You speak of delay, and neglect of Mo. by the authorities at Richmond. In what our delay consists, and wherein our neglect has been manifested, you do not state; but it would seem to have been in not appointing a Genl. before we had troops for him, or in not appointing him to command your militia, and in not having an organised army in your State, when you have not furnished to me a regiment. We want muster rolls, and you send me only your reasons why the Mo. volunteers may not be willing to enter the service of the Confederate States and contribute to make up the Army which is needed to defend Mo.

Though your letter was written at New Orleans, as you do not say how long you will remain there, I send this to Memphis under the expectation that you will return to that place or to Missouri, and take the occasion to renew my request for the tender of any armed troops which you may be able to offer to the Confederate States for the common defense, or for the local defense of Missouri.

Very respectfully yrs. &c.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jno. B. Clarke,[1] *Richmond, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Jany. 8, 1862.

Sir:

I have read the two letters from Gov. Jackson sent by you this day. The Govr. speaks of delay by the authorities at Richmond and neglect of the interests of Mo., and expressed the hope that he has said enough to be well understood by me. When I remember that he writes in reply to my call upon him to hasten the tender of Mo. troops so that they should be put upon the footing of those of other States, and with a knowledge that as militia of the State I had no power to organize or appoint commanders for them, and that it was his duty to attend to their wants; but that I had sent an agent of the Confederate Government, as far as practicable to furnish the necessary supplies to the militia of

[1] John B. Clarke of Missouri was Brigadier General of Cavalry in the Confederate Army, figuring in the Pea Ridge Campaign of March 1862. In the Battle of Elk Horn Tavern the Cavalry with extreme left under General Clarke and Col. Robert McCullock, turned the Federal right wing. He was prominent in the political life of Missouri in the years immediately preceding the War.

Mo. actually in service; I can only say, I hope he is not understood by me. It is but a short time since, in a conversation of hours, I freely explained to you the case so far as I am connected with it, and there is nothing for me to add to what you then seemed to consider conclusive.

Very respectfully yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

William Meade to Jefferson Davis.

(From Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.)

Millwood, Jan 21/62
Clark County—Va.

To his Excellency—
President Davis—

Dear Sir—Notwithstanding your numerous & oppressive cares I feel confident that you will not consider this letter an improper intrusion—relating as it does to a subject in which our Confederacy, civil & religious is deeply concerned. For some time past I have seen in the Richmond Papers & others elsewhere, the most heightened eulogies of a book, entitled, "*Cause & "Contrast,*" dedicated, it is said, by permission to yrself. It is only within a few days that I have procured a copy of it—the reading of some parts of which, has given me great pain, since they contain an open assault on a fundamental fact & doctrine of our holy religion, & a disgusting vilification of the whole African race. Following the infidel, Lord Monboddo & others of that School, he absolutely denies the Scriptural account of the descent of all the nations of the Earth from our two first parents in Eden, ascribing the origin of different & varying tribes to different, & placing the African race near to the Ape, Monkey, or Gorilla. A more positive denial of the divine inspiration & truth of the Bible cannot well be, for the great fact of the connexion of all the families of man by descent from Adam is so interwoven with the Old & New Testaments that it is impossible to question that without destroying the credibility of the whole. The great doctrine of the Xtian religion, "that in Adam all die, & in Christ all are made alive," is built upon this fact, or inseparably connected with it. If there be different races then different moral & religious systems must be required in order to suit the variations. How shocking to the feelings of Xtian Masters & Mistresses & of pious Ministers to think that all

their labours in teaching the negroes of the South are thrown away upon a race but little differing from brutes & for which the Gospel is not suited & was not designed. This infidel theory is widely different from the one which admits that many tribes of the earth, have greatly degenerated but by the power of divine truth & grace, are susceptible of improvement & regeneration. The doctrine of this book strikes at the root of all effort to Xtianise this race. Indeed there is not a word in it which hints at such a thing. It is utterly inconsistent with its whole theory. It is most unfortunate indeed that this infidel doctrine shld be brg't forward at this time especially when the fond hope of Xtian Patriots & Ministers at the South is that our separation from the North wld dispose & enable us to be more jealous in our efforts for the religious instruction of our slaves. We have charged it & most justly on the Abolitionism of the North, that it leads to Infidelity, for not a few, unable to deny that the Scriptures sanction slavery, have abjured the Bible rather than give up their antislavery system. But what shall we now say of ourselves, if we also deny the Scriptures by denying one of its plainest declarations, as to the history of human origin & the doctrines of redemption connected with it, & declare that four millions of our fellow beings, for whose welfare we are contending are beings of another order little above the Ape or Monkey & only designed for the lowest service to ourselves. I am confident, that you were not aware of the contents of this book in relation to this most important point, or you wld not have permitted its dedication to yrself, remembering what a responsibility rests upon you, as the first chief Ruler of our new Republic. To save you the trouble of examination, I will mention the pages on which you may find some of the passages in which the objectionable parts are to be found. See Preface—latter part of 1st Page & 1st Part of Second—Also latter part of the 2nd page of the book Thirty first page, with the note—. Also Pages 41, 49, 50, 51, 57, 61, 62, 63. Had the Authors omitted all that he has s^{d} on this unhappy topic, confined himself to the political object of his book, he might have done good service to our cause, but I fear as it is, he will do mischief, if his work be as popular as the papers state. My own attention has been drawn of late to this in connexion with other subject in which the early history of man is concerned, & I take the liberty of asking yr acceptance of a volume which will accompany this letter. That you may more readily see what I have written on this topic, I also note the pages & chapters——,

In chap^{r} 37—page 512—the unity of the human race is con-

sidered. In ch 21st. Page 309 on the first six pages, the case of the Africans is considered. Also in Ch 20—P 292 on the first three pages. In Ch 36—P 504, the original state of man is considered & bears on this subject. I will also thank you to read the preface which is short & indicates the character of the book. I will only add that in yrself as President of our Confederacy in this our time of deep interest & severe trial, I feel a strong confidence. But that confidence rests on a belief that like Washington in the time of our first Revolution, you look up to the great Ruler for guidance & support. May you not only be the instrument of great good to the millions who compose our great family, but be eternally saved yrself & yr whole household——

(endorsed) Bishop Meade
to
President Davis
concerning his
endorsement
of *Cause & Contrast*

The above letter was written by Bishop William Meade, Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Reuben Davis.[1]
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Jany. 28, 1862.

Dear Sir:

The intent of my last dispatch was to call your attention to the fact that the law only authorized the appointment of Genls. for Brigades and Divisions already in service. It would be a departure from the spirit of the law to anticipate the raising of troops by a promise to appoint, in other words would be doing indirectly that which could not be done directly. With this

[1] Davis, Reuben (1813-1890), the son of a Baptist minister, was born near Winchester, Tennessee, January 18, 1813; attended public schools on the frontier, studied medicine, practised medicine a few years in northern Alabama, studied law, and in November, 1838 removed to Aberdeen, Miss. He was prosecuting attorney for the sixth judicial district, 1853-1839; judge of the high court of appeals in 1842; was colonel of the second regiment of Mississippi volunteers in the Mexican War; member of the State House of Representatives, 1855-1857; member of the national House of Representatives from December 7, 1857 to January 12, 1861; joined the Confederate army as brigadier general of Mississippi militia; was shot in a quarrel with the prosecuting attorney while defending prisoners at the court house in Columbus, Mississippi, December 15, 1873. He died in Huntsville, Tenn., October 14, 1890. Davis wrote Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians. 446 pp., Boston, 1889.

view of the law and of my obligations to the trust held by me, the rule has been to decline all requests for assurance of an appointment upon the contingency of a Brigade being received into the service.

Very respectfully & truly
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

F. R. Lubbock[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin Feb'y 6. 1862.

To His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President of the Confederate States
Richmond, Va.
Dr Sir,

I deem it my duty, to call to your attention the existence of a civil difficulty between the War Department of the Confederate States, and the Regimental Staff Officers, of the Regiment of Col. John S. Ford, which was raised under an Ordinance of the late Convention of the State of Texas, and recieved into the service of the Confederacy, as will be seen by the letter of the Secretary of War, of date the 23rd day of April 1861.

The Ordinance of the Convention by virtue of which, the Regiment was raised, is in substance as follows, on the point, now in dispute, "there shall be appointed by the Colonel, an Adjutant, a Quarter Master, a Commissary, a Regimental Surgeon, each with the rank of Captain."

[1] Lubbock, Francis Richard (1815-1905), Confederate war governor of Texas, was born of English ancestry in Beaufort, S. C., October 16, 1815, and attended schools in Beaufort and Charleston and Savannah, Ga., until his fourteenth year. He was a clerk at Charleston, 1829-1832 and at Hamburg, S. C., 1832-1834; engaged in the drug business in New Orleans, La., in 1834; removed to Houston, Texas, in 1837; was clerk of the Congress of the Republic of Texas, 1837-1838; Comptroller in 1838 and 1841; Adjutant in the Texan army in 1839; removed to Austin in 1841;was Secretary of first Democratic State Convention in 1845; Lieutenant-Governor of Texas, 1857-1859 and Governor, 1861-1863; and delegate to Charleston and Baltimore Conventions in 1860. He entered the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel and assistant adjutant general in the Trans-Mississippi Department; was colonel of cavalry on President Davis' staff in July 1864; was captured with Davis and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe until December 1865. He returned to Texas in December 1865, was tax collector at Galveston 1873-1876; president of the New York and Texas Beef Preserving Company 1874-1875; and Treasurer of Texas 1878-1890. He died at Austin, Texas, June 22, 1905. Consult Six Decades in Texas or Memoirs of Francis Richard Lubbock. 685 pp., Austin, 1900.

Col Ford was elected Colonel of the Regiment, by the Convention: so soon as the Regiment was raised, he appointed the several Staff Officers, permitted by the Ordinance: these appointees, at once entered upon the discharge of their duties.

The Secretary of War, under date of the 23rd day of April 1861, used the following language, to the Governor of the State of Texas, when applied to, to recieve said Regiment into the service of the Confederacy "I have concluded to recieve the Regiment originally provided for by the Ordinance of the Convention"——.

At the time this language was used by the Secretary of War, the Regiment had been raised, and the appointments, extended to Staff Officers, by the Colonel Commanding.

At a subsequent day when this Regiment, was recieved into the service of the Confederacy, the several appointees by the Colonel, were mustered into the service in the capacities, they had previously held in the Regiment when it was in state service. In other words, the Regiment was recieved as an entirety into the service of the Confederacy.

The Colonel, learned, sometime in August, that the War Department, had made, appointments, of all the Regimental Staff Officers of his Regiment: he at once applied to Genl Earl Van Dorn, to learn, what course to pursue in order to prevent confusion. Genl. Van Dorn, at once issued his special order N° 59, in which he says, "The Regimental Staff Officers of Col Ford's Regiment of Texas Mounted Riflemen will be retained in the service of the Confederate States, with the rank of Captain, upon the same footing, as were the Regimental Staff Officers of Col M°Culloch's Regiment of Texas Mounted Riflemen, subject to the Approval of the War Department"——.

I am informed that Col M°Culloch, while in Command of this Department, immediately succeeding the transfer of Genl Van Dorn to Virginia, issued his special order in like terms.

During all this time, the appointees of Col Ford, were in the active discharge of their duties as Staff Officers to the Regiment, and so continued, until about the 12th day of January 1862, when an order was recieved by the Colonel, from the War Department, touching the matter, whereupon they ceased to act.

After this great delay, and after being *defacto* the Staff Officers of the Regiment for many months, fulfilling all the duties of the positions—supplying the Regiment in every particular, as though they were the *dejure*, Staff Officers, they find that they are not recognized at the War Department, and their pay withheld, and the settlement of their accounts suspended.

I am informed, and believe the information to be true, that these Staff Officers now unrecognized, have been acting as the Staff Officers of the Regiment, and have been the only ones so acting, the appointees of the War Department, having been detailed by the successive Commandants of this Department to other duties.

The appointees of the Colonel have dealt with Contractors, on the basis, that they were valid, existing, and recognized appointments:—they have incurred heavy liabilities to our people, for supplies: and I can assure, that the utmost confusion is consequent upon their non-recognition by the War Department. The Citizens have liberally supplied the necessities of life to the soldiers, on the credit of the Confederacy, under the belief that when funds, could be subjected to the order of the pay departments, settlements would be had, & payments made——.

The Authorities of this Department however after delay & confusion & uncertainty, are now recognizing the acts of these Staff Officers, so far as to make payments to such persons, as have furnished supplies & materials to the Regiment, through these Officers, on the credit of the Confederacy, but still no such action is taken, by the War Department, as to recognize the Officers, order a settlement—relieve them of their heavy liabilities, and compensate them in the shape of salaries for their labor.

These gentlemen have served the Confederacy with zeal, faithfulness and ability, and deserve recognition by the Department, if no principle is infracted by so doing. I feel very certain that no mere irregularity will justify non-recognition, especially when it brings in its train, injury to the Credit of the Government, and injustice to men, who have freely, willingly and promptly subjected themselves to the service of the Country.

I bring these matters to your attention sir, in order that you may take such action in the premises as will Comport with what you deem most advantageous to the public interest.

I am sir with high respect
your very obt servt.
F. R. Lubbock.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va., Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Feby. 14, 1862.

Sir:

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., communicating a resolution adopted by the General Assembly

on the 12th inst., I can give the assurance that whenever the militia can be dispensed with, they will be discharged.

At this moment, we anxiously desire an increase of force, and look earnestly for the enrolment of volunteers.

Very truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston Comdg. Dept. of Northn. Va., Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Feby. 14, 1862.

Genl.:

I have received your letter of the 5th inst. While I admit the propriety in all cases of transmitting orders through you to those under your command, it is not surprising that the Secretary of War should, in a case requiring prompt action, have departed from this, the usual method, in view of the fact that he had failed more than once in having his instructions carried out when forwarded to you in the proper manner. You will remember that you were directed on account of the painful reports received at the War Dept. in relation to the command at Romney to repair to that place, and after the needful examination to give the orders proper in the case, you sent your Adjt. (Inspr?) Genl., and I am informed that he went no further than Winchester to which point the commander of the expedition had withdrawn; leaving the troops for whom anxiety had been excited at Romney. Had you given your personal attention to the case, you must be assured that the confidence reposed in you would have prevented the Secty. from taking any action before your report had been received. In the absence of such security he was further moved by what was deemed reliable information that a large force of the enemy was concentrating to capture the force at Romney, and by official report that the place had no natural strength and little strategic importance.

To insure concert of action in the defense of our Potomac frontier, it was thought best to place all the forces for this object under one command. The reasons which originally induced the adding of the valley district to your department exist in full force at present, and I can not therefore agree to its separation from your command.

I will visit the army of the Potomac as soon as other engagements will permit, although I can not realize your complimentary assurance that great good to the Army will result from it;

nor can I anticipate the precise time when it will be practicable to leave my duties here.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Weldon N. Edwards,[1]
Presdt. N. C. Conven., Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, Va. Feby. 15, 1862.

Your despatch received. The defence of N. Carolina occupies my anxious attention. I am sending there all the aid I can procure. I prefer not to send back the N. Carolina troops referred to. The exigency which caused them to be sent to S. Carolina is not less pressing now than at the time of their assignment to the defense of that locality, and they could only be withdrawn by substituting others. To be successful, the common means must be employed for the common defense as its necessities require.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Charles Minnigerode[2] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum, Richmond.)

Richmond, Feby. 18, 1862.

To His Excellency
President Davis
Dear Sir

The deep interest I feel in the great struggle in which we are engaged, and for the successful conduct and termination of which I look upon you as God's chosen instrument, must be my excuse for trespassing upon your time for a few moments.

Your whole course has impressed me, and I am sure the public

[1] *Edwards, Weldon N.* 1788, —— — 1873, Dec. 18. Born Northampton County, N. C. Descended from a family long settled in Brunswick County, Va. Kinsman of Nathaniel Macon. Educated at Warrenton, N. C. Read law under Judge Hall of Warren County, and began practice of law in that county. Representative of Warren County 1814-1815. Member United States House of Representatives 1815-1827. Senator from Warren County in North Carolina Legislature 1833-1844. Delegate from Warren County to Constitutional Convention of 1835. Senator from Warren County 1850-1861. Delegate to Convention of 1861, and presiding officer. In addition to his public affairs Edwards maintained a large plantation in Warren County. Married Lucy Norfleet of Halifax County, N. C., in 1823.

[2] Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, of which Mr. Davis was a member.

both in America and in Europe, with the belief, that you act upon the conviction, that our destinies are in the hands of God and that the success of our holy cause rests upon His favor and support. Your every proclamation has borne witness to this; and shown you to be our leader not only in the faithful use of every means which he has given us for our defense, but also in the humble approach to the throne of grace, supplicating for mercy, and praying for His guidance and blessing.

Sir—the time has come, in my humble judgment, to show forth this spirit more than ever. In God's Providence your Inauguration and the beginning of our permanent government have fallen upon days, when we are surrounded by greater dangers than heretofore, when the enemy is making his greatest efforts and the most important events are transpiring. If there ever was a time to unite 'what God has joined together': our own best exertions and our most implicit trust in him, it is the present; and a great opportunity is afforded you, to fasten this impression upon the whole country and all who watch our course abroad.

I feel certain, that in your Inaugural you will not neglect to give utterance to such feelings and am fully aware, how well you know (how) to do it in the most impressive and judicious manner. *But I think the times justify something more.* Oh, Mr. President, if when you take the oath before the assembled masses, and before you begin your Inaugural; if immediately upon taking the oath you would yield to the spontaneous outbursting of your heart, and—raising your hands to heaven—ask in the sight of all the people, for God's grace and blessing upon you and the country—a few words only, Sir, such as you can utter so well and effectively, such as will ring through every heart there beating in the anxious appreciation of the solemn moment; it would send a thrill through the whole land, and from every state and every Southern home would ascend a loud 'Amen'; We would rise in the strength of those who have committed themselves wholly to God, and other nations hearing would exclaim:

Blessed are the people, whose God is the Lord!

This is my suggestion, dear Sir, which with great diffidence I make to you. I am convinced, it would mark the day in the history of the world, it would shed a bright radiance over your administration at its opening, and send new hopes and new assurance to the hearts of all.

I know you will forgive the liberty I have taken in thus addressing you. May God in His infinite mercy guide you to the course which is most to His glory, your own good, and the real welfare of our people.

With the truest regards

Your faithful friend and servant
(Signed) Chs. Minnigerode

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Clark,[1] *Raleigh, N. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, Va., Feby. 18, 1862.

Please send me a copy of the ordinance of the N. Carolina Convention in reference to the projected railroad between Danville & Greensboro.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. W. Avery,[2] *Richmond, Va.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

My Dear Sir: Richmond, Va., Feby. 18, 1862.

Your note of yesterday in reference to the conversation I had with yourself and other Representatives from your State in consequence of the Resolutions of the N. C. Convention, has been received.

I have already replied to the Convention by telegraph, that I prefer not to send back the N. C. troops referred to, for the reason that the exigency which caused them to be sent to S. C. is even more pressing now than at the time of their assignment to the defense of that locality.

The enemy seriously threatens Savannah, and occupying as

[1] Clark, Henry Toole, (1808-1874), a political leader, was born in 1808, and graduated from Chapel Hill college in 1826. He was a member of the North Carolina Senate, 1850-1861, Speaker, 1860-1861; governor of North Carolina from July, 1861, to January 1, 1863. After the close of the war he was elected a member of the famous North Carolina Legislature of 1866. He died April 14, 1874.

[2] Avery, William Waighstill (1816-1864), a lawyer, was born at Swan Ponds, Burke County, N. C., May 25, 1816, graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1837, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1839, and practised at Morgantown. He was a States Rights member of the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1842, and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1856 and 1860. He served as a representative from North Carolina in the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy, and was killed in a skirmish near his home at Morgantown, N. C., July 3, 1864.

he does a secure position on the islands in its vicinity, where, protected by his gun boats, he can mature his plans and make his arrangements without our being able to obtain any information as to his designs or movements, he may at any moment make a sudden attack upon either Charleston or Savannah.

It will require all the ability for disposition of troops and engineering skill of our Generals there to thwart his purposes, and defend that portion of our extended coast.

The N. C. troops could only be withdrawn by the substitution of others; and this change would necessarily, to a greater or less degree, disorganize for a time that portion of our line from which they are drawn, and add to the burden of our over-taxed railroad transportation.

The defense of N. C. occupies my serious attention, and I am sending there all the aid at my disposal. Genl. Randolph has sent to protect the railroad which connects Welden with Norfolk, with orders to assemble the troops for this purpose at points on the road convenient for concentration at any point which may be threatened.

It may not be possible with our limited means to protect every point which the enemy can attack by means of his fleets; but every effort will be made to hold those positions which are of vital interest to the State and to our common cause.

Our ability to defend is limited by the supply of arms, powder, and other munitions of war. Efforts were made, as you are no doubt aware, at an early period of our troubles, to purchase arms from abroad. Some have been received from this source, and we have hopes of more.

I have received no official reports of the disastrous affair at Roanoke Island. The newspaper accounts indicate that the greater portion of our men there behaved very badly. I will wait for more accurate and full reports before forming a judgment as to the cause of our signal defeat.

When the Island was first occupied by our troops after the fall of Hatteras, realizing the importance of the position to us, I sent one of my aides-de-camp to make a personal examination of its condition, and capabilities for defense.

From his report, I concluded that the condition of affairs was such as to justify a reasonable hope of successful resistance to any force the enemy could then bring to bear against it; and capable, with proper dispositions and energetic efforts in preparation, of making a creditable, if not successful, defense against any force that would be prepared for the purpose; to this end it was attached to the Department of Genl. Huger.

After it became probable that the expedition under Burnside would attack this position, Genl. Huger was directed to reinforce it to the extent of his means.

I am not sufficiently informed as to what was done after the inspection of my Aide to enable me to say whether the preparation was defective, or whether the fault was in the troops.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Feby. 19, 1862.

Genl.:

I have received your letter of the 16th inst., in reference to the reported removal of Genl. G. W. Smith to East Tennessee.

I have not intended to withdraw Genl. Smith from your command, and with regret have taken others.

Thanking you for the enclosures referred to in your postscript, I return them in accordance with request thereon.

I am very anxious to see you. Events have cast on our arms and our hopes the gloomiest shadows, and at such a time we must show redoubled energy and resolution.

Very respectfully & truly
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

G. W. C. Lee[1] *to A. J. Battle, Esq., Weldon, N. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Feby. 21, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

The President has received your letter of the 12th inst. in reference to the defense of N. C., and instructs me to say in

[1] Lee, George Washington Custis (1832-1913), a soldier and educator, was born at Fortress Monroe, Va., September 16, 1832, graduated from West Point at the head of his class in 1854, and was assigned to the engineers. At the opening of the Civil War he was on duty at the Engineers Bureau, War Department, Washington. His first rank in the Confederate Army was that of captain of engineers. In August, 1861, he became aide-de-camp to President Davis, with the rank of colonel. He was promoted brigadier general in June, 1863, and major general in October, 1864, commanding under Ewell in the defense of Richmond. He was professor of civil and military engineering in the Virginia Military Institute, 1865-1871, and then succeeded his father, General R. E. Lee, as president of Washington and Lee University, Va. Resigning the office in 1896, he was elected president emeritus for life. He died at his home in Fairfax County, Va., February 18, 1913.

reply that inadequate means have limited preparations in that State as elsewhere; and that he had not doubted the sobriety of Genl. Gatlin, although Genl. Loring, an officer of higher rank, has been sent to N. Carolina.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) G. W. C. Lee
Col. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. N. Edwards, Presdt. Conven'n. of N. Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Feby. 21, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

Your communication of the 13th inst., with the accompanying Resolutions of the Convention, has been received.

The N. Carolina Delegation in Congress has presented a copy of the Resolutions before the receipt of your letter, and have received a reply, the substance of which has, I suppose, been already delivered to the Convention by them.

I am very truly yrs.
(Signed) Jeffn. Davis.

Inaugural Address.

February 22, 1862.

Fellow-Citizens: On this the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots, we have assembled to usher into existence the Permanent Government of the Confederate States.[1] Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory, and the purpose seem fitly associated.

It is with mingled feelings of humility and pride that I appear to take, in the presence of the people and before high Heaven, the oath prescribed as a qualification for the exalted station to which the unanimous voice of the people has called me. Deeply sensible of all that is implied by this manifestation of the people's confidence, I am yet more profoundly impressed by the vast

[1] The inaugural ceremonies were held beneath the Washington monument on the Capitol grounds.

responsibility of the office, and humbly feel my own unworthiness.

In return for their kindness I can offer assurances of the gratitude with which it is received; and can but pledge a zealous devotion of every faculty to the service of those who have chosen me as their Chief Magistrate.

When a long course of class legislation, directed not to the general welfare, but to the aggrandizement of the Northern section of the Union, culminated in a warfare on the domestic institutions of the Southern States—when the dogmas of a sectional party, substituted for the provisions of the constitutional compact, threatened to destroy the sovereign rights of the States, six of those States, withdrawing from the Union, confederated together to exercise the right and perform the duty of instituting a Government which would better secure the liberties for the preservation of which that Union was established.

Whatever of hope some may have entertained that a returning sense of justice would remove the danger with which our rights were threatened, and render it possible to preserve the Union of the Constitution, must have been dispelled by the malignity and barbarity of the Northern States in the prosecution of the existing war. The confidence of the most hopeful among us must have been destroyed by the disregard they have recently exhibited for all the time-honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty. Bastiles filled with prisoners, arrested without civil process or indictment duly found; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended by Executive mandate; a State Legislature controlled by the imprisonment of members whose avowed principles suggested to the Federal Executive that there might be another added to the list of seceded States; elections held under threats of a military power; civil officers, peaceful citizens, and gentlewomen incarcerated for opinion's sake—proclaimed the incapacity of our late associates to administer a Government as free, liberal, and humane as that established for our common use.

For proof of the sincerity of our purpose to maintain our ancient institutions, we may point to the Constitution of the Confederacy and the laws enacted under it, as well as to the fact that through all the necessities of an unequal struggle there has been no act on our part to impair personal liberty or the freedom of speech, of thought, or of the press. The courts have been open, the judicial functions fully executed, and every right of the peaceful citizen maintained as securely as if a war of invasion had not disturbed the land.

The people of the States now confederated became convinced

that the Government of the United States had fallen into the hands of a sectional majority, who would pervert that most sacred of all trusts to the destruction of the rights which it was pledged to protect. They believed that to remain longer in the Union would subject them to a continuance of a disparaging discrimination, submission to which would be inconsistent with their welfare, and intolerable to a proud people. They therefore determined to sever its bonds and establish a new Confederacy for themselves.

The experiment instituted by our revolutionary fathers, of a voluntary Union of sovereign States for purposes specified in a solemn compact, had been perverted by those who, feeling power and forgetting right, were determined to respect no law but their own will. The Government had ceased to answer the ends for which it was ordained and established. To save ourselves from a revolution which, in its silent but rapid progress, was about to place us under the despotism of numbers, and to preserve in spirit, as well as in form, a system of government we believed to be peculiarly fitted to our condition, and full of promise for mankind, we determined to make a new association, composed of States homogeneous in interest, in policy, and in feeling.

True to our traditions of peace and our love of justice, we sent commissioners to the United States to propose a fair and amicable settlement of all questions of public debt or property which might be in dispute. But the Government at Washington, denying our right to self-government, refused even to listen to any proposals for a peaceful separation. Nothing was then left to do but to prepare for war.

The first year in our history has been the most eventful in the annals of this continent. A new Government has been established, and its machinery put in operation over an area exceeding seven hundred thousand square miles. The great principles upon which we have been willing to hazard everything that is dear to man have made conquests for us which could never have been achieved by the sword. Our Confederacy has grown from six to thirteen States; and Maryland, already united to us by hallowed memories and material interests, will, I believe, when able to speak with unstifled voice, connect her destiny with the South. Our people have rallied with unexampled unanimity to the support of the great principles of constitutional government, with firm resolve to perpetuate by arms the right which they could not peacefully secure. A million of men, it is estimated, are now standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier of thousands of miles. Battles have been fought,

sieges have been conducted, and, although the contest is not ended, and the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful.

The period is near at hand when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred, a debt which in their effort to subjugate us has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burdens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

We too have had our trials and difficulties. That we are to escape them in future is not to be hoped. It was to be expected when we entered upon this war that it would expose our people to sacrifices and cost them much, both of money and blood. But we knew the value of the object for which we struggled, and understood the nature of the war in which we were engaged. Nothing could be so bad as failure, and any sacrifice would be cheap as the price of success in such a contest.

But the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. This great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul. It is cultivating feelings of patriotism, virtue, and courage. Instances of self-sacrifice and of generous devotion to the noble cause for which we are contending are rife throughout the land. Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women, and children in every part of our country. Upon the first call the men flew to arms, and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle without a murmur of regret.

It was, perhaps, in the ordination of Providence that we were to be taught the value of our liberties by the price which we pay for them.

The recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice and blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and just effort in war.

Nor have the material sacrifices of the past year been made without some corresponding benefits. If the acquiescence of foreign nations in a pretended blockade has deprived us of our commerce with them, it is fast making us a self-supporting and an independent people. The blockade, if effectual and permanent, could only serve to divert our industry from the production of articles for export and employ it in supplying the commodities for domestic use.

It is a satisfaction that we have maintained the war by our unaided exertions. We have neither asked nor received assistance from any quarter. Yet the interest involved is not wholly

our own. The world at large is concerned in opening our markets to its commerce. When the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and inclinations by cultivating foreign trade, the Southern States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favorable markets which ever invited their commerce. Cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, provisions, timber, and naval stores will furnish attractive exchanges. Nor would the constancy of these supplies be likely to be disturbed by war. Our confederate strength will be too great to tempt aggression; and never was there a people whose interests and principles committed them so fully to a peaceful policy as those of the Confederate States. By the character of their productions they are too deeply interested in foreign commerce wantonly to disturb it. War of conquest they cannot wage, because the Constitution of their Confederacy admits of no coerced association. Civil war there cannot be between States held together by their volition only. The rule of voluntary association, which cannot fail to be conservative, by securing just and impartial government at home, does not diminish the security of the obligations by which the Confederate States may be bound to foreign nations. In proof of this, it is to be remembered that, at the first moment of asserting their right to secession, these States proposed a settlement on the basis of the common liability for the obligations of the General Government.

Fellow-citizens, after the struggle of ages had consecrated the right of the Englishman to constitutional representative government, our colonial ancestors were forced to vindicate that birthright by an appeal to arms. Success crowned their efforts, and they provided for their posterity a peaceful remedy against future aggression.

The tyranny of an unbridled majority, the most odious and least responsible form of despotism, has denied us both the right and the remedy. Therefore we are in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty. At the darkest hour of our struggle the Provisional gives place to the Permanent Government. After a series of successes and victories, which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters. But in the heart of a people resolved to be free these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance.

To show ourselves worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the patriots of the Revolution, we must emulate that heroic devotion which made reverse to them but the crucible in which their patriotism was refined.

With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now, with unaffected diffidence, am about to assume; and, fully realizing the inequality of human power to guide and to sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him whose favor is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the Confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to thee, O God, I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke thy blessing on my country and its cause.

Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President.)

February 25, 1862.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States.

In obedience to the constitutional provision requiring the President from time to time to give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, I have to communicate that since my message at the last session of the Provisional Congress events have demonstrated that the Government had attempted more than it had power successfully to achieve. Hence, in the effort to protect by our arms the whole of the territory of the Confederate States, seaboard and inland, we have been so exposed as recently to encounter serious disasters. When the Confederacy was formed the States composing it were, by the peculiar character of their pursuits and a misplaced confidence in their former associates, to a great extent destitute of the means for the prosecution of the war on so gigantic a scale as that which it has attained. The workshops and artisans were mainly to be found in the Northern States, and one of the first duties which devolved upon this Government was to establish the necessary manufactories, and in the meantime to obtain by purchase from abroad, as far as practicable, whatever was required for the public defense. No effort has been spared to effect both these ends; and though the results have not equaled our hopes, it is believed that an impartial judgment will, upon full investigation, award to the various Departments of the Government

credit for having done all which human power and foresight enabled them to accomplish. The valor and devotion of the people have not only sustained the efforts of the Government but have gone far to supply its deficiences.

The active state of military preparation among the nations of Europe in April last, the date when our agents first went abroad, interposed unavoidable delays in the procurement of arms, and the want of a navy has greatly impeded our efforts to import military supplies of all sorts. I have hoped for several days to receive official reports in relation to our discomfiture at Roanoke Island and the fall of Fort Donelson. They have not yet reached me, and I am therefore unable to communicate to you such information of those events and the consequences resulting from them as would enable me to make recommendations founded upon the changed conditions which they have produced. Enough is known of the surrender at Roanoke Island to make us feel that it was deeply humiliating, however imperfect may have been the preparations for defense. The hope is still entertained that our reported losses at Fort Donelson have been greatly exaggerted, inasmuch as I am not only unwilling but unable to believe that a large army of our people have surrendered without a desperate effort to cut their way through investing forces, whatever may have been their numbers, and to endeavor to make a junction with other divisions of the army. But in the absence of that exact information which can only be afforded by official reports it would be premature to pass judgment, and my own is reserved, as I trust yours will be, until that information is received. In the meantime strenuous efforts have been made to throw forward reënforcements to the armies at the positions threatened, and I cannot doubt that the bitter disappointments we have borne, by nerving the people to still greater exertions, will speedily secure results more accordant with our just expectation and as favorable to our cause as those which marked the earlier periods of the war. The reports of the Secretaries of War and the Navy will exhibit the mass of resources for the conduct of the war which we have been enabled to accumulate notwithstanding the very serious difficulties against which we have contended. They afford the cheering hope that our resources, limited as they were at the beginning of the contest, will during its progress become developed to such an extent as fully to meet our future wants.

The policy of enlistment for short terms, against which I have steadily contended from the commencement of the war, has, in my judgment, contributed in no immaterial degree to the recent

reverses which we have suffered, and even now renders it difficult to furnish you an accurate statement of the Army. When the war first broke out many of our people could with difficulty be persuaded that it would be long or serious. It was not deemed possible that anything so insane as a persistent attempt to subjugate these States could be made, still less that the delusion would so far prevail as to give to the war the vast proportions which it has assumed. The people, incredulous of a long war, were naturally averse to long enlistments, and the early legislation of Congress rendered it impracticable to obtain volunteers for a greater period than twelve months. Now that it has become probable that the war will be continued through a series of years, our high-spirited and gallant soldiers, while generally reënlisting, are, from the fact of having entered the service for a short term, compelled in many instances to go home to make the necessary arrangements for their families during their prolonged absence. The quotas of new regiments for the war, called for from the different States, are in rapid progress of organization. The whole body of new levies and reënlisted men will probably be ready in the ranks within the next thirty days, but in the meantime it is exceedingly difficult to give an accurate statement of the number of our forces in the field. They may, in general terms, be stated at 400 regiments of infantry, with a proportionate force of cavalry and artillery, the details of which will be shown by the report of the Secretary of War. I deem it proper to advert to the fact that the process of furloughs and reënlistment in progress for the last month had so far disorganized and weakened our forces as to impair our ability for successful defense, but I heartily congratulate you that this evil, which I had foreseen and was powerless to prevent, may now be said to be substantially at an end, and that we shall not again during the war be exposed to seeing our strength diminished by this fruitful cause of disaster—short enlistments.

The people of the Confederate States, being principally engaged in agricultural pursuits, were unprovided at the commencement of hostilities with ships, shipyards, materials for shipbuilding, or skilled mechanics and seamen in sufficient numbers to make the prompt creation of a navy a practicable task, even if the required appropriations had been made for the purpose. Notwithstanding our very limited resources, however, the report of the Secretary will exhibit to you a satisfactory progress in preparation, and a certainty of early completion of vessels of a number and class on which we may confidently rely for contesting the vaunted control of the enemy over our waters.

The financial system devised by the wisdom of your predecessors has proved adequate to supplying all the wants of the Government, notwithstanding the unexpected and very large increase of expenditures resulting from the great augmentation in the necessary means of defense. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will exhibit the gratifying fact that we have no floating debt; that the credit of the Government is unimpaired, and that the total expenditure of the Government for the year has been in round numbers $170,000,000—less than one-third of the sum wasted by the enemy in his vain effort to conquer us; less than the value of a single article of export, the cotton crop, of the year.

The report of the Postmaster General will show the condition of that Department to be steadily improving, its revenues increasing, and already affording the assurance that it will be self-sustaining at the date required by the Constitution, while affording ample mail facilities for the people.

In the Department of Justice, which includes the Patent Office and public printing, some legislative provisions will be required, which will be specifically stated in the report of the head of that Department. I invite the attention of Congress to the duty of organizing a Supreme Court of the Confederate States, in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution.

I refer you to my message communicated to the Provisional Congress in November last for such further information touching the condition of public affairs as it might be useful to lay before you, the short interval which has since elapsed not having produced any material changes in that condition other than those to which reference has already been made.

In conclusion I cordially welcome Representatives who, recently chosen by the people, are fully imbued with their views and feelings, and can so ably advise me as to the needful provisions for the public service. I assure you of my hearty cooperation in all your efforts for the common welfare of the country.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. B. Huger,[1] Norfolk, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

My Dear Genl.: Richmond, Va., Feby. 26, 1862.

I sent Col. Lee my A. D. C. to converse with you freely and confidentially, and to bring to me full and exact information as to your condition and views.

This morning it has been stated to me that you feel restrained by the want of an assurance that the Govt. has left your action to the guidance of your own judgment. In that regard I have to say that my rule has been to seek for the ablest commanders who could be obtained and to rely on them to execute the purposes of the Govt. by such plans as they should devise, and with such means as could be made available. You certainly have not been an exception to that rule. My purpose in your case was the defense of Norfolk, and my confidence in you has been to me a constant source of hope. You will accept assurances of my readiness to sustain you to the full extent of my power, and the expression of the desire that you would look to success as the only directrix of your course in the discharge of your official duties.

Very truly your friend
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Huger, Norfolk, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram."

Richmond, Va., Feby. 27, 1862.

You will place the towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth and their dependencies under martial law. Preparations should be made for the removal of that part of the population who could only embarrass the defense in the event of a siege.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Huger, Benjamin (1805-1877), an American soldier, was born at Charleston, S. C., November 22, 1805, and graduated from West Point in 1825. He was made captain of ordnance May 30, 1832; acted as Chief of Ordnance in General Scott's army in the Mexican War; was brevetted major, March 29, 1847, for gallantry at the siege of Vera Cruz; was brevetted lieutenant-colonel, September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, and colonel, September 13, 1847, at the battle of Chapultepec. He was in charge of several arsenals from 1848 to 1860; resigned from the U. S. army April 22, 1861; was commisioned brigadier-general in the Confederate army soon after the outbreak of the Civil War; was promoted to the rank of major-general, commanded a division in the Seven Days Battle; was relieved of his command after the battle of Malvern Hill for his failure to intercept the Federal Army, and assigned to duty in the ordnance department of the Trans-Mississippi district. He died in Charleston, December 7, 1877.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. &c. Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. Feb. 28, 1862.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 22d, 23d & 25th with enclosures. The last named letter is without a signature. From these it appears that the enemy is concentrating in your front and pushing his reconnoissance closely and actively. Your opinion that your position may be turned whenever the enemy shall choose to advance, and that he will be ready to take the field before yourself, clearly indicates prompt effort to disencumber yourself of everything which would interfere with your rapid movement when necessary, and such thorough examination of the country in your rear as would give you exact knowledge of its roads and general topography, and enable you to select a line of greater natural advantages than that now occupied by your forces. The heavy guns at Manassas and Evansport needed elsewhere, and reported to be useless in their present position would necessarily be abandoned in any hasty retreat. I regret that you find it impossible to move them. The subsistence stores should when removed be placed in position to answer your future wants. Those can not be determined until you have furnished definite information as to your plans especially the line to which you would remove in the contingency of retiring. The Comy. Genl. had previously stopped further shipments to your army, and gives satisfactory reasons for the establishment of a packing establishment at Thoroughfare. Increased effort has recently been made to raise men in this State, and it has even been promised that your force should be raised to more than one hundred thousand effective troops. If that were done your present position would answer the purpose for which it seemed to me suited, a base from which to advance in cooperation with the Armies of Acquia and the Valley. In the meantime, and with your present force, you cannot secure your communication from the enemy, and may at any time, when he can pass to your rear, be compelled to retreat at the sacrifice of your siege train, and army stores, and without any preparation, on a second line to receive your army as it retired.

As heretofore stated in conversation with you, it is needful that the Armies on the North and East and the proximate South, of this Capital should be so disposed as to support each

other. With their present strength and position, the Armies under your command are entirely separated from the others. Threatened as we are by a large force on the South East, you must see the hazard of your position by its liability to isolation, and attack in rear, should we be beaten on the lines South & East of Richmond; and that reflection is connected with the consideration of the fatal effect which the disaster contemplated would have upon the cause of the Confederacy.

Two questions therefore press upon us for solution: First, How can your army best serve to prevent the advance of the enemy, while the want of force compels you to stand on the defensive; Second, What dispositions can and should you make to enable you most promptly to co-operate with other columns in the event of disaster to their forces, or to yours, and of consequent danger to the Capital.

I need not urge on your consideration the value to our country of arms and munitions of war; you know the difficulty with which we have obtained our present small supply, and that to furnish heavy artillery to the advanced posts, we have exhausted the supplies here which were designed for the armament of the City defenses. Whatever can be, should be, done to avoid the loss of those guns.

The letter from Genl. Jackson presents the danger with which he is threatened, and the force he requires to meet it. It is unnecessary for me to say that I have not the force to send, and have no other hope of his reinforcement than by the militia of the Valley. Assurances have been given me that they were rallying to his support, but you are no doubt aware of what has been done, and is doing in that regard. Anxious as heretofore to hold and defend the Valley, that object must be so pursued as to avoid the sacrifice of the Army now holding it, or the loss of the arms in store, and in use there.

As has been my custom, I have only sought to present general purposes and views. I rely upon your special knowledge and high ability to effect whatever is practicable in this our hour of need. Recent disasters have depressed the weak, and are depriving us of the aid of the wavering. Traitors show the tendencies heretofore concealed, and the selfish grow clamorous for local, and personal, interests. At such an hour, the wisdom of the trained, and the steadiness of the brave, possess a double value. The military paradox that impossibilities must be rendered possible had never better occasion for its application. The Engineers for whom you asked have been ordered to report to

you, and farther additions will be made to your lists of Brig. Genls.

Let me hear from you often and fully.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 4, 1862.

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 1st inst. received prompt attention, and I am led to the conclusion that some imposition has been practiced upon you. The Sec. of War informs me that he has not granted leaves of absence or furloughs to soldiers of your command for a month past, and then only to divert the current which threatened by legislation to destroy your army by a wholesale system of furloughs. These which you inform me are daily received must be spurious. The authority to reenlist, and change from Infantry to Artillery, the Sect. informs me has been given, but in four cases. Three on the recommendation of General Beauregard, and specially explained to you some time since. The remaining case was that of a company from Wheeling, which was regarded as an exceptional one. I wish therefore that you would send to the Adj. Genl. the cases of recent date in which the discipline of your troops has been interfered with in the two methods stated,—so that an enquiry may be made into the origin of the papers presented. The law in relation to reënlistment provides for reorganization, and was under the policy of electing the officers.

The concession to Army opinions was limited to the promotion by Seniority after the organization of the companies and regiments had been completed. The reorganization was not to occur before the expiration of the present term. A subsequent law provides for filling up the 12 months companies by recruits for the year, but the organization ceases with the term of the 12 mos. men.

Be assured of readiness to protect your proper authority, and I do but justice to the Sect. of War in saying that he cannot desire to interfere with the discipline, and organization of your troops. He has complained that his orders are not executed; and I regret that he was able to present to me so many instances, to justify that complaint, which were in no wise the invasion of your prerogative as a commander in the field.

You can command my attention at all times to any matter connected with your duties, and I hope that full cointelligence will secure full satisfaction.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to E. Barksdale[1] *and others.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 4th, 1862.

Hon. E. Barksdale and others
of the Ho. of Reprs.
Dear Sir,

The paper you handed to me on the defences of the Mississippi presents confirmation of the views on which the Government has been acting as far as practicable.

It has no doubt occurred to you, and others, endorsing the paper of Mr. Withers, that earth works without guns and garrisons would be useless, if not injurious. The suggestion to get iron, and stimulate foundries seems like mockery to those who have not only tried the methods referred to, but others which the writer seems not to have thought of.

There are practical difficulties in casting guns, not generally understood, and the disregard of which would result in making guns which would be more dangerous to those who use them than to the enemy. If it is supposed by the plan of successive withdrawal that the armament of a Fort when unable longer to resist the enemies' gunboats could be removed to a work lower down the river, I confess myself ignorant of the method by which that would be accomplished.

The letter with its endorsements will be referred to the War Dept. The Executive branch of the Confederate Government wants many things more than the zeal and energy, which Mr. Withers suggests as a remedy for apprehended evils.

Very sincerely your Friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 6, 1862

Genl.:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 3rd inst. with its enclosures. Notwithstanding the threatening position of

[1] Confederate Congressman.

the enemy, I infer from your account of the roads and streams that his active operations must be for some time delayed, and thus I am permitted to hope that you will be able to mobilize your army by the removal of your heavy ordnance and such stores as are not required for active operations, so that whenever you are required to move, it may be without public loss and without impediment to celerity. I was fully impressed with the difficulties which you presented when discussing the subject of a change of position. To preserve the efficiency of your army, you will of course avoid all needless exposure; and when your army has been relieved of every useless encumbrance, you can have no occasion to move it while the roads and the weather are such as would involve serious suffering, because the same reasons must restrain the operations of the enemy. In the meantime, as I have heretofore advised you, I am making diligent efforts to reinforce your columns. It may still be that you will have the power to meet and repel the enemy; a course of action more acceptable to both of us; but it is not to be disguised that your defective position and proximity to the enemy's base of operations do not permit us to be sanguine of that result. It is therefore necessary to make all due preparations for the opposite course of events. You will be assured that in my instructions in you, I did not intend to diminish the discretionary power which is essential to successful operations in the field; and that I fully rely upon your zeal and capacity to do all which is practicable.

I will make inquiry, and if it be possible to do so, will increase the amount of your Rail Road transportation. (The letter of Genl. Hill painfully impresses me with that which has heretofore been indicated, a want of vigilance and intelligent observation on the part of Genl. Stuart. The officers commanding his pickets should be notified of all roads in their neighborhood; and sleepless watchfulness should be required of them; the failure to secure either of these two things renders them worse than useless to the commands which rely upon them for timely notice of the approach of an enemy.)

Please keep me fully and frequently advised of your condition, and give me early information if there be anything in which I can aid your operations.

Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. A. S. Johnston.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 6, 1862.

Send to me frequently information of your condition and purposes. The official reports in relation to the fall of Fort Donelson and consequent events are much wanted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. G. Shorter,[2] *Montgomery, Ala.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 8, 1862.

The militia you are sending to Mobile will be received. Pay and allowances are the consequence.

[1] Johnston, Albert Sidney (1803-1862), an American soldier, was born at Washington, Ky., February 3, 1803; graduated from West Point in 1826; served in the Black Hawk War; resigned from the Army, April 24, 1834; removed to Texas in 1836 and enlisted as a private in the Texan army. He was soon appointed adjutant general and placed in command of the Texan army. He was secretary of War of Texas, 1838-1840, led a successful expedition against the Cherokee Indians in 1839, and resigned from the Texan army in 1840 to become a planter. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he led a regiment of Texan volunteers and at Monterey, as a staff-officer, had three horses shot under him. In 1849 he re-entered the American army as a major, and was subsequently made colonel of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry (afterwards 5th) in which his lieutenant-colonel was Robert E. Lee. He commanded the expedition against the Mormons in 1857 so successfully that he was brevetted brigadier-general. He was subsequently placed in command of the department of the Pacific, but resigned April 10, 1861. In the Confederate Army he was commissioned a general and placed in charge of the department of Kentucky. He held the line of Bowling Green, Kentucky, from September, 1861, to February, 1862, against greatly superior forces; attacked Grant's army at Shiloh Church and drove him to cover of his gun-boats at Pittsburgh Landing. Johnston was mortally wounded in this battle and died a few minutes later, April 6, 1862. Consult W. P. Johnston, the Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston, 755 pp., New York, 1878.

[2] Shorter, John Gill, (1818-1872), fifteenth governor of Alabama, was born in Monticello, Ga., April 23, 1818, graduated at the University of Georgia in 1837, removed with his parents to Irwinton, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1838, and began practising in Eufaula. He was State Senator, 1845-1847, a member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1851, and a judge of the circuit court of the State, 1851-1861. He was a member of the Alabama commission of 1861 to urge Georgia to secede; was a delegate to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, and was governor of Alabama from December, 1861 to January, 1864. He resumed the practice of law after the Civil War, and died at Eufaula May 29, 1872.

Genl. Jones has been nominated for the promotion you suggest.

What can you do to aid Genl. A. S. Johnston?

Armed men in such organization as may be speediest offer the best hope for recovery from recent disaster.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., March 10, 1862.

Further assurance given to me this day that you shall be promptly and adequately reinforced, so as to enable you to maintain your position and secure first policy when the roads will permit.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. March 11, 1862.

Sir:

The reports of Brig. Genls. Floyd and Pillow of the defense and fall of Fort Donelson are unsatisfactory. I can but hope that explanations may be made which will change the aspect given to the affair by their statements.

In the meantime, you will order Genl. A. S. Johnston to relieve both of those officers from command, and to indicate to them that information is wanted as to their failure to give timely notice of the insufficiency of the garrison to repel the attack, and their failure to attempt to save the Army by evacuating the post when it was found to be untenable, and especially why they abandoned the command, and by what means their escape was effected; further to state upon what principle was a selection made of particular troops, being certain regiments of the senior Genl's Brigade, to whose use the transportation on hand should be appropriated.

Copies of the reports received will be furnished to me for transmission to Congress.

Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. A. S. Johnston by Capt. Wickliffe, C. S. A.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. March 12, 1862.

My Dear General:

The departure of Capt. Wickliffe offers an opportunity of which I avail myself to write you an unofficial letter.

We have suffered great anxiety because of recent events in Kentucky and Tennessee; and I have been not a little disturbed by the repetitions of reflections upon yourself. I expected you to have made a full report of events precedent and consequent to the fall of Fort Donelson. In the meantime, I made for you such defense as friendship prompted, and many years of acquaintance justified; but I needed facts to rebut the wholesale assertions made against you to cover others, and to condemn my administration. The public, as you are aware, have no correct measure for military operations, and the journals are very reckless in their statements. Your force has been magnified, and the movements of an army have been measured by the capacity for locomotion of an individual. The readiness of the people among whom you are operating to aid you in every method has been constantly asserted; the purpose of your Army at Bowling Green wholly misunderstood, and the absence of an effective force at Nashville ignored. You have been held responsible for the fall of Donelson and the capture of Nashville. It is charged that no effort was made to save the stores at Nashville, and that the panic of the people was caused by the Army. Such representations, with the sad forebodings naturally belonging to them, have been painful to me and injurious to us both; but worse than this, they have undermined public confidence and damaged our cause. A full development of the truth is necessary for future success. I respect the generosity which has kept you silent, but would impress upon you that the question is not personal, but public, in its nature. That, you and I might be content to suffer, but neither of us can willingly permit detriment to the country. As soon as circumstances will permit, it is my purpose to visit the field of your present operations; not that I should expect to give you any aid in the discharge of your duties as a commander, but with the hope that my position would enable me to effect something in bringing men to your standard.

With a sufficient force, the audacity which the enemy exhibits would no doubt give you the opportunity to cut some of his lines

of communication, to break up his plan of campaign; and defeating some of his columns, to drive him from the soil, as well of Tenn. as of Ky. We are deficient in arms, wanting in discipline, and inferior in numbers. Private arms must supply the first want; time and the presence of an enemy, with diligence on the part of commanders, will remove the second; and public confidence will overcome the third.

Genl. Bragg brings you disciplined troops, and you will find in him the highest administrative capacity. Genl. E. K. Smith will soon have in East Tennessee a sufficient force to create a strong diversion in your favor; or, if his strength can not be made available in that way, you will best know how to employ it otherwise. I suppose the Tenn. or Mississippi river will be the object of the enemy's next campaign, and I trust you will be able to concentrate a force which will defeat either attempt.

The fleet which you will soon have on the Miss. river, if the enemy's gun boats ascend the Tenn., may enable you to strike an effective blow at Cairo; but to one so well informed and vigilant, I will not assume to offer suggestions as to when and how the ends you seek may be attained. With the confidence and regard of many years, I am very truly yr. friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. M. Brooks.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 13th, 1862.

Hon. W. M. Brooks,
Marion, Ala.

My Dear Sir:

If under other circumstances I might be unwilling to hear criticism of acts, the condition of the country now too fully engrosses all my thoughts and feelings to permit such selfish impatience, and I have read yours of the 25th inst., anxious to gather from it information, and thankful for your friendly remembrance and the confidence your frankness evinces. I acknowledge the error of my attempt to defend all the frontier, seaboard and inland; but will say in justification that if we had received the arms and munitions which we had good reason to expect, that the attempt would have been successful and the battlefields would have been on the enemy's soil. You seem

[1] Of Marion, Alabama; circuit judge; president of the Alabama constitutional convention which passed the ordinance of withdrawal from the Union.

to have fallen into the not uncommon mistake of supposing that I have chosen to carry on the war upon a "purely defensive" system. The advantage of selecting the time and place of attack was too apparent to have been overlooked, but the means might have been wanting. Without military stores, without the workshops to create them, without the power to import them, necessity not choice has compelled us to occupy strong positions and everywhere to confront the enemy without reserves. The country has supposed our armies more numerous than they were and our munitions of war more extensive than they have been. I have borne reproach in silence because to reply by an exact statement of facts would have exposed our weakness to the enemy. History, when the case is fully understood, will do justice to the men who have most suffered from hasty judgment and unjust censure. Military critics will not say to me as you do "your experiment is a failure," but rather wonder at the disproportion between the means and the results. You inform me that "the highest and most reputable authors" say that I "have not had a cabinet council for more than four months." I read your letter to a member and ex member of my cabinet to-day; they were surprised at the extravagance of the falsehood, and did not believe that so much as a week had at any time occurred without a cabinet consultation. I would like to know who the authors of such stories are. Your own estimate of me, I hope, assured you that I would not, as stated, treat the "Secretary of War" as a "mere clerk;" and if you know Mr. Benjamin you must realize the impossibility of his submitting to degradation at the hands of any one. The opposition here complain that I cling too closely to my cabinet, not, as in your section, that they are disregarded; and the only contempt of the sentiments of Congress which is here alleged against me (so far as I have heard) is that their wish for the removal of two or more members of the cabinet has not been yielded to. Perhaps there might be added dissatisfaction on the part of a few at the promotion or appointment of military officers without consulting the members of Congress in relation to them. Against the unfounded story that I keep the Generals of the army in leading strings may be set the frequent complaint that I do not arraign them for what is regarded their failures or misdeeds, and do not respond to the popular clamor by displacing commanders upon irresponsible statements. You cite the cases of Genls. Johnston and Beauregard; but you have the story *nomine mutata,* and though Genl. Johnston was offended because of his relative rank, he certainly never thought of resigning, and

Genl. Beauregard, in a portion of his report which I understand the Congress refused to publish, made a statement for which I asked his authority, but it is surely a slander on him to say that he ever considered himself insulted by me. The grossest ignorance of the law and the facts can alone excuse the statement as to the illtreatment of Genl. Price by me. His letters do not permit me to believe that he is a party to any such complaint. If as you inform me it is "credibly said" that I "have scarcely a friend and not a defender in Congress or in the army," yet for the sake of our country and its cause I must hope it is falsely so said, as otherwise our fate must be confided to a multitude of hypocrites. It would be easy to justify the appointments which have been made of Brig. Genls. by stating the reasons in each case, but suffice it to say that I have endeavored to avoid bad selections by relying on military rather than political recommendations; and upon the evidence of service where the case was one of promotion. It is easy to say that men are proscribed because of their political party. Look for yourself and judge by the men filling the offices whether I have applied party tests. When everything is at stake and the united power of the South alone can save us, it is sad to know that men can deal in such paltry complaints and tax their ingenuity to slander because they are offended in not getting office.

I will not follow the example set me and ascribe to them bad motives, but deem it proper to say that the effect of such assaults, so far as they succeed in destroying the confidence of the people in the administration of their Government, must be to diminish our chances of triumph over the enemy, and practically do us more harm than if twice the number of men I can suppose to be engaged in such work were to desert to the standard of Lincoln. You are no doubt correct in your view of the propriety of keeping volunteers in the field, but you will not fail to perceive that when a small force is opposed to a large one the alternative is to retreat or fortify some strong position, and, as did Genl. Jackson at New Orleans, thus compensate for the want of numbers. But the strength of an army is not merely dependent on numbers; another element is discipline and instruction. The first duty now is to increase our forces by raising troops for the war, and bringing out all the private arms of the country for the public defence. If we can achieve our independence, the office seekers are welcome to the one I hold, and for which possession has brought no additional value to me than that set upon it when before going to Montgomery I

announced my preference for the commission of a General in the army.

Accept my thanks for the kindness which you have manifested in defending me when so closely surrounded by evil reports. Without knowing what are the many things you have supposed me to have done, and which were disapproved, I venture to say if the supposition was based upon the statements of these "reputable authors" before noticed that I was more worthy of your defence than you believed when making it.

Very respectfully, your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. Marshall,[1] *Lebanon, Russell Co., Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 13, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

Immediately after the receipt of your private letter of the 8th inst., I conferred with Genl. Lee, whose letter will probably reach you with this; and in it you will find authority from the Governor to call out the militia in your district. For reasons which I need not explain to you, it is desirable to limit the application of martial law to cases of absolute necessity. You mention there are five counties within which you desire the suspension of the "writ", but you do not name them. If you find it necessary not only to have power over the people by calling out the militia, but also over the courts by proclamation of martial law, inform me of the exact country over which you wish martial law declared, and I will send you the requisite authority.

Genl. E. K. Smith will probably have in a short time a strong force at Cumberland Gap; and if the enemy should not press him there, it may be in his power to co-operate with you in overthrowing the column at Pikesville. I concur freely in your view

[1] Marshall, Humphrey (1812-72), an American soldier and political leader, was born at Frankfort, Ky., January 13, 1812; graduated from West Point in 1832; served in the Black Hawk war; resigned from the army April 30, 1833; studied law and was admitted to the bar in Frankfort in 1833. In the Mexican War he was colonel of the first regiment of Kentucky cavalry and led the charge at Buena Vista. He was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1849, to August 4, 1852, and from March 4, 1855, to March 3, 1859; and was Minister to China, 1852-1854. Marshall was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, was in command at the battle of Middle Creek (January 9, 1862) and in the same year defeated General Jacob Cox at Princeton, Virginia. He resigned from the army in 1862 and was a representative to the Confederate Congress, 1863-1865. After the war he resumed the practice of law in Louisville. He died there March 28, 1872.

of the propriety of advancing into Ky., and only regret that I can not at once furnish you with the requisite force for the execution of your design; I know how fully your heart is in the cause in which we are embarked, and hope the day may not be distant when you will be possessed of the means to carry the States' Rights flag over the soil of your birth, and there vindicate the sovereignty of Ky. We are sorely pressed just now on every side; but the good and true men who have engaged in the war seem only with redoubled energy to bear up against increasing burden.

What we may bear of sacrifice, how long we may be required to bear it, is problematical; but no one doubts or seems to doubt the final success of our holy cause.

With my best wishes, and assurances of my readiness to serve you to the full extent of my power, I am

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. O. Moore, New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Repeated March 15, 1862.

Richmond, Va. March 13, 1862.

You are requested to proclaim martial law in my name over the Parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, St. Bernard and Plaquemines.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jos. E. Brown,[1] *Milledgeville, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 14, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

The case of Martin and Walker having been fully explained to me some time since, I presented to the Provl. Congress for

[1] Brown, Joseph Emerson (1821-1894), war governor of Georgia, was born in the Pickens District, S. C., April 15, 1821; attended the Calhoun academy, and was graduated from the Yale law school in 1846, and commenced practicing law at Canton, Ga., the same year. He was elected to the Georgia Senate in 1849; was Judge of the Superior Court of the Blue Ridge Circuit in 1855; and Governor of Georgia, 1857-1865. He was

confirmation, upon the recommendation of the Secty. of War, the names of Wm. J. Magill as Col., Wm. Martin as Lt. Col., John D. Walker as Maj., and H. D. D. Twiggs as Capt., 1st Regt. Ga. Regulars. The nomination of Wm. J. Magill, upon whose promotion was based that of the other three officers named, was not confirmed, while these latter were confirmed as nominated.

The Regt. is thus provided with two Lt. Cols., one additional Capt., and one additional first Lieut., an organization other than provided for by law, and which must be changed.

Capt. Martin has reported that he will not be able to do duty with his regiment for at least a month, on account of ill health; and in the meantime I hope this question will receive a satisfactory adjustment.

I am very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. James Barbour,[1] Exchange Hotel, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 14, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 2nd inst., in reference to your brother, Lt. Edwin Barbour, Va. Provl. Army, has been received, and referred to the Adjt. & Inspr. Genl. for examination and report. Genl. Cooper has reported upon the case as follows:

"Mr. Barbour was, I understand, a Lieut. in the Provl. Army of Va., but not belonging to any particular company or regiment; and when the Provl. Army of Va. was turned over to the

an active secessionist, seizing the Georgia forts before Georgia left the Union, and was instrumental in raising an army of 10,000 old men and boys to prevent General Sherman from marching through the State. After the war he supported the reconstruction measures of the Federal government and also supported General Grant for the Presidency. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, 1868-1870, and a U. S. Senator from May 21, 1880 to March 3, 1891. He died at Atlanta, Ga., November 30, 1894. Consult J. W. Fielder, Life and Times of Joseph E. Brown, 783 pp., Springfield, 1883.

[1] James Barbour was born in Culpepper Co., Va., in the year 1823. He represented the county repeatedly in the Legislature; was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850; and of the Secession Convention of 1861. During the Civil War he was Adjutant-General on General Ewell's Staff, but was compelled to resign on account of ill health, dying in 1895.

Confederate service, he could not be received as a part of that force. He has been assigned to duty, as within stated, by Genl. Beauregard, without authority of law; and I do not see how he can receive remuneration for his services without an act of Congress."

The law does not confer upon the President the power of appointing Lieutenants in the Provl. Army, except in the General Staff; and I can not therefore renew Mr. Barbour's commission, as you request.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Hd. qrs. Army of the Potomac.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 15, 1862.

General:

I have received your letter of the 13th inst. giving the first official account I have received of the retrograde movement of your Army.

Your letter would lead me to infer that others had been sent to apprize me of your plans and movements. If so, they have not reached me; and before the receipt of yours of the 13th, I was as much in the dark as to your purposes, conditions, and necessities, as at the time of our conversation on the subject about a month since.

It is true, I have had many and alarming reports of great destruction of ammunition, camp equipage and provisions, indicating precipitate retreat; but having heard of no cause for such a sudden movement, I was at a loss to believe it.

I have not the requisite topographical knowledge for the selection of your new position. I had intended that you should determine that question; and for this purpose, a corps of engineers was furnished to make a careful examination of the country to aid you in your decision.

The question of throwing troops into Richmond is contingent upon reverses in the West and Southeast. The immediate necessity for such a movement is not anticipated.

Very respectfully yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Culpepper C. H., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., March 15, 1862.

Your letter of 13th received this day, being the first information of your retrograde movement.

Have no report of your reconnoissance, and can suggest nothing as to the position you should take, except it should be as far in advance as consistent with your safety.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Culpepper C. H., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 16, 1862.

Genl. Holmes reports that Hooker's Division has crossed the Potomac, and occupies Dunfries, Occoquan, Evansport and the Chopawamsic where crossed by the telegraph road. A column from Manassas occupies Brentsville. He thinks Fredericksburg threatened. Wants assistance from you to attack before they reach Fredericksburg. You alone can determine or direct the movements necessary.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. T. Clarke of N. Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 20, 1862.

Call on every man in your State that can come with arms to rally with the utmost despatch to defend your line of Railroad.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept of North'n Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Fredericksburg, Va., March 22, 1862.

Sir:

I. You will relieve Maj. Genl. Holmes of his command and direct him to report at Richmond for further order.

II. You will detach two Brigades of Infantry and two companies of Artillery with orders to report to Maj. Genl. Holmes, with the least delay, at his Hd. Qrs. in the field.

III. The troops upon passing through Richmond will be reported to the Adj. Genl. for any instructions which it may be needful to give them at that point.

Very respectfully yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. L. Polk, Jackson, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 24, 1862.

There is no purpose to withdraw Trudeau from Island 10, or otherwise interfere with your use of him. Recent appointments of Genl. officers for the army of Tenn. have been made.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jos. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 24, 1862.

Troops are immediately necessary for the defense of the line of R. Road through Tenn. I urgently request you to send regiments from the Cherokee counties of Georgia to Genl. E. K.

Smith at Knoxville. Inform me of the number of regiments, their positions and the number of arms they require.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. A. S. Johnston, Corinth, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 26, 1862.

My Dear Genl.:

Yours of the 18th inst. was this day delivered to me by your Aide, Mr. Jack. I have read it with much satisfaction; so far as the past is concerned, it but confirms the conclusions at which I had already arrived. My confidence in you has never wavered, and I hope the public will soon give me credit for judgment rather than continue to arraign me for obstinacy.

You have done wonderfully well, and now I breathe easier in the assurance that you will be able to make a junction of your two armies. If you can meet the division of the enemy moving from the Tenn. before it can make a junction with that advancing from Nashville, the future will be brighter. If this can not be done, our only hope is that the people of the South West will rally en masse with their private arms and thus enable you to oppose the vast army which will threaten the destruction of our country.

I have hoped to be able to leave here for a short time, and would be much gratified to confer with you and share your responsibilities. I might aid you in obtaining troops; no one could hope to do more unless he underrated your military capacity. I write in great haste, and feel that it would be worse than useless to point to you how much depends upon you.

May God bless you, is the sincere prayer of your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

P.S. I send you a dictionary of which I have the duplicate, so that you may communicate with me by cypher, telegraphic or written, as follows: first give the page by its number; second, the column by the letter L, M, or R, as it may be in the left hand, middle, or right hand column; third, the number of the word in the column counting from the top.

Thus the word *junction* would be designated by 146. L. 20.

J.D.

Jefferson Davis to C. J. McRae,[1] Mobile, Ala.
(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. March 27, 1862.

I understood the purpose of the Govr. Genl. Jones was intended to remain in command; and orders have been given accordingly.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

G. W. C. Lee to Govr. Letcher of Va., Richmond, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 1, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

The President desires me to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Col. French, enclosing papers in reference to the "Civil and Military Governor of the Norfolk District."

It is hardly necessary to inform your Excellency that, as soon as the case was brought to the notice of the President, steps were immediately taken to put a stop to the functions of the "Civil and Military Governor", and as far as known, at this time, it has been done.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,
Yr. obdt. Svt.
(Signed) G. W. C. LEE,
A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Capt. S. S. Lee, Commandant Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. April 2, 1862.

Proceed at once to obstruct Elizabeth river. Call on Genl. Huger for such aid and cooperation as may be necessary. Prepare hulks to shut passage when necessary.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] McRae, Colin J. (1812——), an American financier, was born in Fayetteville County, N. C., in 1812. When he was quite young his family removed to southern Mississippi. He was a member of the Mississippi Legislature in 1838; removed to Mobile, Ala., in 1840; was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1861, and the same year was sent to Europe as the financial agent of the Confederate States. At the close of the war he emigrated to Spanish Honduras.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. C. P. Villery, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. April 3, 1862.

My Dear Sir:

Enclosed I send you an abstract of the telegraphic dispatches received at the War Dept. from Genl. Beauregard, in relation to the appointment of Generals. Before the receipt of that of the 2nd inst., which had not been laid before me when you called this morning, the number appointed exceeded that for which he applied. Now if the nominations were confirmed would coincide, except that General Sam Jones remains at Mobile. The individuals are not entirely those asked for but in the main there is conformity except as to the last request, which cannot be granted without exceeding the required number. If the force of the army of Tenn. should require an addition to the General officers, I need hardly assure you of my readiness to increase the list. It is probable General Beauregard was not aware of the latest appointments when he sent his dispatch of the 2nd inst., and may not have intended to ask for the officers named in addition to those already given by recent confirmation.

The dispatch is returned to you as requested.

Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. A. S. Johnston, Corinth, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 5, 1862.

Your dispatch of yesterday received. I hope you will be able to close with the enemy before his two columns unite. I anticipate victory.[1]

Brig. Genls. have been recently appointed; among them Bowen.[2] Do you require others?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Preparations for the battle of Shiloh, April 6th-7th.

[2] Brigadier-General James Bowen.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 5, 1862.

Your letter on the Banks not received. The mistake of Govr. of Fla. has been corrected, and arms are reported to be en route to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 5, 1862.

Communication from you on the Banks was sent to the War Dept., and has been received by me since dispatch of to day was sent to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton [1] *of Florida, Tallahassee, Fla.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 8, 1862.

Before receipt of your dispatch of yesterday, Jos. Finigan had been appointed Brig. General and assigned to command East and Middle Florida.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Milton, John (1807-1865), an American political leader, was born in Jefferson County, Georgia, April 21, 1807; attended the Louisville academy, Louisville, Ga., and was subsequently admitted to the bar. He practised law in Columbus, Ga., Mobile, Ala., and New Orleans, La.; removed to Jackson County, Fla., and in 1846, and was elected to the Florida Senate in 1849. He was Governor of Florida, 1861-1865. He died at Tallahassee, Fla., April 1, 1865.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. T. Clark of N. Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 8, 1862.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 3rd inst.

In reference to arms which had been sent to Goldsboro by R.R. to be there distributed to troops ordered there without arms, you say you had some new companies assembled and ready to receive arms for drill. "These arms were expected from the Confederate Government by previous engagement both from the President and Secty. of War." I am at a loss to know to what engagement you refer. As I had no knowledge of your camp of instruction, so I could not have contemplated sending arms to it. Troops were supposed to be immediately required in the army of Genl. Holmes. The enemy threatened to advance up the Neuse, but could readily change his position and assail Wilmington or Weldon. Undisciplined troops were those who alone could be expected, and if there should be time to train them, it could be done perhaps as well in the army as out of it. When therefore you reported the formation of four Regiments, we naturally desired they should be sent at once to Genl. Holmes at Goldsboro. Even now, when you inform me that it was a mere paper organization, I must still think, if the Companies were in fact organized, that the condition of N. Carolina at that time justified the wish to have them in the field before the regimental organization had been completed. The necessity for a larger number of troops than the number of public arms has led to the arming of troops with private or sporting weapons; from some of the States the supply has been liberal.

I did not know before the receipt of your letter that your State had done so much for the Confederacy in the way of arms. Her claim to my gratitude was sufficient however independently of this, to have prevented me certainly from discriminating against her troops, to favor those of other States. Mississippi went early into the market, purchased freely such weapons of War as were on the market, but she could not from "her own arms" have furnished her own Regts. and like most of the States has depended for a portion of the arms on the supplies found in the Arsenals and Armories of the Old Govt.

I am sure you do injustice to the Secty. of War and Genl. Lee if you suppose either of them intended to slight N. Carolina,

or to embarrass you, and will refer your letter that you may be directly answered and informed as to the matters treated of in your letter.

Very respectfully yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Pettus, Miss., Govr. Moore, La., Govr. Pickens, S. C., Govr. Brown, Ga., Govr. Shorter, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 10, 1862.

Genl. Beauregard must have reinforcements to meet the vast accumulation of the enemy before him.
The necessity is imminent; the case of vital importance; send forward to Corinth all the armed men you can furnish.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 11, 1862.

Your dispatch received. Thank you for the promptitude with which you have responded to my request. Pikes and knives will be acceptable. Please send them to Chattanooga.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 11, 1862.

Thank you for your prompt attention to my request. Genl. Pemberton has sent two of your regiments, and the two from Tennessee. I am not willing to tax you further.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore, New Orleans, La.
(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. April 11, 1862.

No arms to furnish. You will not fail to appreciate the necessity which caused the application to you. If you could spare armed troops for a few weeks, they might then be returned to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.
(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 12, 1862.

Dispatch of yesterday received. Retain the two regiments. If you could send armed men from the North western part of your State they might aid Genl. Beauregard without disturbing your sea coast defenses. If route by Chattanooga is interrupted, the pikes &c. may be sent by Mobile to Corinth, where they are wanted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. L. Yancey,[1] *Richmond, Va.*
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 16, 1862

My Dear Sir:

I have received your favor of the 6th inst. in relation to a supply of arms for the Confederacy, and thank you for the solici-

[1] Yancey, William Lowndes (1814-1863), a political leader, was born at Ogeechee Shoals, Ga., August 10, 1814; attended Williams college, studied law and was admitted to the bar in Greenville, S. C., in 1834. He was editor of the Greenville Mountaineer 1834-1835; removed to Dallas County, Alabama, in 1837, was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1841; a member of the State Senate in 1842; a member of the national House of Representatives from December 2, 1844, to September 1, 1846. In 1848 he secured the adoption of the Alabama Platform, which declared it a duty of Congress both to allow and to protect slavery in all the Territories. He strongly opposed the compromise measures of 1850; and in 1860 he led seceders from the Democratic convention at Charleston. In March, 1861, headed a commission to Europe to secure the recognition of the Confederate government. In 1862 he was a member of the Confederate Senate. He died near Montgomery, Ala., July 27, 1863. Consult J. W. Du Bose, The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey, 742 pp., Birmingham, 1892.

tude you manifest in behalf of our cause, and for your suggestions as to how its welfare may be promoted. They deserve the attention due to your position, and the special means of information recently possessed by you when a commissioner in Europe.

I have now an opportunity of reaching by telegraphic dispatches a vessel that will soon attempt to run the blockade. I will therefore be much indebted if you will furnish me any specific details that may have come to your knowledge in relation to the smooth-bore muskets of good serviceable quality which can be procured,—particularly the places, the probable number, and the names of the parties ready to dispose of them.

I will add, however, that we have at the present time less difficulty in procuring arms than in getting them into the country. A large number are now at sea, for which we are looking with great anxiety.

I am glad to see by your letter that although remittances from this side may have failed to reach Capt. Huse (of the difficulty of making which you are probably not informed), yet that no detriment has accrued by reason of the generous confidences of friends of our cause in Europe, who made the necessary advances in anticipation of the remittances.

You will be pleased to hear that these advances have been more than covered; and you may rest assured that I have never been insensible to the necessity of procuring arms from abroad; nor has my solicitude on the subject permitted me to relax my vigilance, notwithstanding the other arduous duties for the pressure of which on my time and attention you so kindly make allowance.

Remittances will be made as fast as means will allow, but exchange is not as abundant as you seem to suppose; nor is it easy to send cotton enough for the large remittances you advise.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 17, 1862

A dispatch was sent yesterday to Genl. Lovell on the subject of the attack on the forts below; his answer was required in connection with the question presented by you.

The wooden vessels are below, the iron gun boats are above; the forts should destroy the former if they attempt to ascend. The Louisiana may be indispensable to check the descent of the iron boats. The purpose is to defend the city and valley; the only question is as to the best mode of effecting the object. Military men must decide; and to day their discretionary power has been enlarged.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Brown of Ga., Savannah, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 17, 1862

Retain your State troops under their present organization. The enrolment can proceed hereafter, or other arrangements be made at more leisure. The exigency does not permit of disorganization.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Brown of Ga., Savannah, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 18, 1862.

My object was to avoid an immediate reorganization, so that the State troops should remain for the defense of Savannah. If the plan adopted effects that, I would not disturb it under existing circumstances.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 21, 1862

The rapid accumulation of enemy's forces on the North East of Richmond requires the transfer of troops from places of greater strength or of less immediate danger. If Genl. Lee

draws on Genl. Pemberton for a brigade to defend Richmond, can you send fresh troops to your coast to replace it?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. L. Yancey & C. C. Clay,[1] *Senators.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 21, 1862.

Gentlemen:

It is the province of the executive to nominate and of the Senate to confirm or reject. Recommendations are willingly received and respectfully considered by me, but I will not argue as to their propriety and do not recognize the fairness of the within statement of my course and assumption as to what it should be.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Lovell,[2] *New Orleans, La.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 23, 1862

Confine the functions of your Provost Marshals to subjects proper to military police. Revoke orders to banks to issue

[1] Clay, Clement Claiborne (1819-1882), a political leader, was born at Huntsville, Ala., in 1819, was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1835, and was private secretary to his father, Governor of Alabama, 1835-1837. He then studied law at the University of Virginia and began practice at Huntsville. He was a member of the State legislature, 1842-1845; county court judge, 1845-1850; and U. S. Senator from March 4, 1853, to January 21, 1861, when he withdrew. He served in the Confederate States Senate, 1861-1863, was appointed a diplomatic agent of the Confederate States in Canada, and in 1865 was imprisoned with Jefferson Davis at Fortress Monroe. He was released in April, 1866, and from that time practised his profession at Huntsville, Ala., where he died January 3, 1882.

[2] Lovell, Mansfield (1822-1884), an American soldier, was born in Washington, D. C., October 20, 1822, and was graduated from West Point in 1842. He served in the Mexican War, was wounded at Monterey, and was brevetted captain, September 13, 1847, for gallantry in the battle of Chapultepec. He resigned from the army December 18, 1854, and was deputy street commissioner in New York City, 1858-1861. He entered the Confederate army at the outbreak of the Civil War as a brigadier general; was made a major general in October, 1861; was in command at New Orleans when that city was surrendered to Farragut; and was superseded by General Van Dorn in July, 1862. After the war he assisted John Newton in deepening the ship channel at Hell Gate in the East River, New York. He died in New York City, June 1, 1884.

notes in conformity with views of Provost Marshals, and leave all State institutions as far as possible undisturbed by military power.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Thomas D. Moore Governor of La. New Orleans.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va. April 24, 1862.

We will take the coin of the Banks and be responsible for it. The Secretary of the Treasury will take action immediately.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 24, 1862.

I sent dispatch to Genl. Lovell on receipt of yours in relation to the banks; from his reply find that orders were revoked. Your dispatch in relation to enemy's ships this day received. I am hopeful that whilst the forts divide the fleet, the Louisiana will not lose the opportunity; in painful anxiety wait further intelligence.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to the Honbles. Secty of the Navy, Secty of War, Secty of State, Secty of the Treasury, Attorney Genl., Postmaster Genl.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 26, 1862

To carry into full effect the act of Congress approved April 16, 1862, calling citizens of the Confederate States between the ages of 18 and 35 into military service, it is hereby ordered that so far as the interest of the service will permit the persons employed in the offices of the Executive Depts. of the Confed-

erate Government, and Staff Depts. of the Army and Navy will be selected from those not subject to military duty.

General Officers who are provided with the Aides-de-camp allowed by law, should they find it necessary to accept supernumerary or volunteer Aides, must only receive those exempt from military service.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mayor Monroe of New Orleans, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 28, 1862

I deeply sympathize with your situation and recognize with pride the patriotism of the citizens of New Orleans.
Your answer to Commander Farragut leaves to you all the chances and rights of war.
Genl. Duncan may prevent reinforcements to the enemy and Genl. Beauregard has been informed of your condition, and will aid you as he may.
My prayers are with you. There is no personal sacrifice I would not freely make for your defense. Maintain firmly the position you took in your reply, and let us hope for a successful issue.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jos. E. Brown of Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., April 28, 1862

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 22nd inst. informing me of your transfer of the Georgia State troops to General Lawton commanding Confederate forces at Savannah, suggesting that there be as little interference as possible on the part of the Confederate authorities with the present organization of those troops, and mentioning various persons and classes as proper subjects for exemption from military service under the provisions of our "Act to further provide for the public defense" approved on the 16th inst.

I enclose copies of the Act for receiving State troops ten-

dered as organized and of the Exemption Act. By the first, interference with the present organization of companies, squadrons, battalions, or regiments tendered by Governors of States, is specially disclaimed. By the other, exemptions are made which explain (satisfactorily I trust) the policy of Congress with regard to the persons and interests you specify. The constitutionality of the Act you refer to as the "conscription bill," is clearly not derivable from the power to call out the militia, but from that to raise armies. With regard to the mode of offering the troops now called into the service of the Confederacy: the intention of Congress is, to me, as to you, to be learned from its acts; and from the terms employed it would seem that the policy of election by the troops themselves is adopted by Congress.

With great regard,

Very respectfully
Yr. obt. servant,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Capt. Douglas Walworth, Gordonsville.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 29, 1862

Orders have been sent to the commanding general to discharge commissioned officers who have not been re-elected. Get your discharge and you wiil not be subject to detention.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Pickens of S. C., Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., April 30, 1862

I defer to your opinion of the necessity for martial law as proposed, and will act in conjunction with you.
In anticipation of orders by mail, a telegram will be sent to Genl. Pemberton to sustain the declaration if made by you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus of Miss., Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 1, 1862.

Persons engaged in foundries, and necessary rail road employees, are exempt by law.

The Secretary of War is clothed with authority to exempt operatives in woolen and cotton factories. The terms do not embrace tanneries and gun shops; but they are so clearly in the spirit of the law, that I authorize you to exempt them from conscription until the pleasure of Congress can be known. You will also exempt the necessary operatives in cotton and woolen factories until you can make application and receive the orders of the War Dept.

Overseers we must take from the classes not subject to enrolment as there is no power to exempt them.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Yorktown, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 1, 1862

It is a necessity that you should send Genl. Smith or Genl. Longstreet to the Army of the North.

I dislike to tax you at this time, but it is unavoidable and admits of no delay.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin May 1st 1862

To His Excellency
The President of the Confederate States,
Esteemed Sir,

I am this moment in receipt of a dispatch from Gen[l]. Sibley by the hand of Capt Ochiltree asking of me reinforcements &

supplies appealing to me in behalf of the brave Texans under his command.

The State having no troops in the field and from the large number being saved for Confederate service within the state I fear I can do nothing in time for their relief.

Knowing how much you are engaged and the many calls upon your valuable time I dislike to say one word. It is also far from my wish to dictate how affairs should be managed, nevertheless I know you will pardon me for expressing some interest and anxiety about the brave men who Constitute the command of Gen[l]. Sibley, They are all Texans, brave men & good soldiers, thus far they have been successful & victorious having gained several victories over their opponents. They are far, very far distant from friends and supplies; unless they receive reinforcements & supplies from Texas they must inevitably suffer much.

If it be deemed practicable I trust your Excellency will cause the army of Genl. Sibley to be reinforced so that the Country may secure such benefits as will accrue from their successes. If it be impossible to reinforce them, then the question will suggest itself to your superior wisdom as to the propriety of keeping so gallant & brave a body of men that could render such efficient service elsewhere, in a position in which they are likely from continued reinforcements being sent to the enemy ultimately to be cut to pieces or captured.

I have thought it my duty to say this much hoping the subject will receive your due consideration

I am yours

Most respt

F. R. Lubbock

To

Jeff Davis President,

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Yorktown, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 1, 1862

Accepting your conclusion that you must soon retire, arrangements are commenced for the abandonment of Navy Yard and removal of public property both from Norfolk and Peninsula.[1]

[1] Withdrawal from Yorktown, May 3, 1862.

Your announcement to day that you will withdraw to-morrow night takes us by surprise, and must involve enormous losses including unfinished gun boats.
Will the safety of your army allow more time?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown of Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 2, 1862

Your dispatch of 1st May referred to me. I concur with you as to the importance of Chattanooga. The six regiments called from Camp McDonald were with difficulty armed. Every effort was made to do so that they might serve to defend the country to which you refer. They were removed without previously consulting me, and I have not been able to supply their place.
Your dispatch indicates a willingness to withdraw your former objection to the transfer of troops from the sea coast of Georgia. If a brigade can be spared from there, Genl. Pemberton will be directed to send it to Chattanooga.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

G. W. C. Lee to T. H. Wynne, Esq.,[1] Chm. Committee on Defense, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., May 5, 1862

My Dear Sir:

The President desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, respectively of the 3rd and 4th inst., in reference

[1] Col. Thomas H. Wynne was born in the city of Richmond, Jan. 22, 1820, being apprenticed at an early age to Messrs. Burr & Sampson, Founders and Machinists. Soon after he attained his majority he became superintendent of the extensive shops of Messrs. Talbot & Bro.

He was a diligent student and was intimately associated with the men of letters of his day. He became superintendent of the Richmond & Petersburg R. R. Co., and in 1860 was elected a member of the House of Delegates.

After the War he was several times a member of the City Council, was elected to the State Senate, and became President of the Richmond & Petersburg R. R. He died in Richmond, Feb. 24, 1875.

to the progress of the obstructions in the river below this city; and to say to you that, upon the receipt of the letters, immediate steps were taken to remedy the evils mentioned, and it is believed with the desired effect; but if you can think of anything further that he can do to aid in the defenses in which we are all so much interested, he will be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Expressing the President's kind regards to yourself and associates, I am very respectfully,

(Signed) G. W. C. Lee,
Col. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

(Repeated May 7, 1862)

Richmond, Va., May 5, 1862

Notice that you were going to Monroe caused my failure to reply to your former dispatch. With regret I afterwards learned that the enemy had occupied New Orleans.

Concur with you as to the changes necessary because of that event. I had previously concluded to form a Dept. west of the Missi. It is now a necessity, but we must further delay action because the troops and higher officers are concentrated for a battle in Tenn.

My present opinion is that it will be better to have one of your camps on each side of the river.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Brown of Ga., Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 5, 1862

Your despatch received. Such campaign as you suggest has been long desired. Its adoption is a question of power, not of will.

Something less than the whole we hope to achieve with preparations now being made, and the limit will be controlled by our means.

Thank you for the tender of your co-operation and the assurance it gives that your zeal increases with the country's needs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 8, 1862

Dispatch received; concur in your wish for prompt organization west of river, and gladly accept your offer to proceed at once in enrolment.

Let the 1st camp be at Opelousas if you so choose. How would Camp Moore do for the other?

I have no authority to appoint, but only to detail officers to command the encampments.

Genl. Beauregard has been called on to name officers for encampments in the west. A Genl. to command Department will be sent as soon as practicable.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army &c. near Tunstall's Station, New Kent Co., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., May 10, 1862

General:

Your letter and one of Genl. Longstreet were laid before me for attention to the recommendations of officers therein contained.

Your attention has heretofore been called to the law in relation to the organization of Brigades and Divisions; orders were long since given to bring the practice and the law into conformity. Recently reports have been asked for from the commanders of separate armies as to the composition of their respective Brigades and Divisions. I have been much harassed, and the public interest has certainly suffered by the delay to place the regts. of some of the States in Brigades together,

it being deemed that unjust discrimination was made against them, and also by the popular error which has existed as to the number of Brigadiers to which appointments could be specially urged on grounds of residence. While some have expressed surprise at my patience when orders to you were not observed, I have at least hoped that you would recognize the desire to aid and sustain you, and that it would produce the corresponding action on your part. The reasons formerly offered have one after another disappeared, and I hope you will, as you can proceed to organize your troops as heretofore instructed, and that the returns will relieve of the uncertainty now felt as to the number and relations of the troops, and the commands of the officers having Brigades and Divisions.

As a general rule, I would not have less than four regiments to a Brigade, nor less than four Brigades to a Division; the limit above that must depend upon the character of the troops and of the officers.

I have been much relieved by the successes which you have gained, and I hope for you the brilliant result which the drooping cause of our country now so imperatively claims.

I will not dwell on the lost opportunity afforded along the line of Northern Va., but must call your attention to the present condition of affairs, and probable action of the enemy if not driven from his purpose to advance on the Fredericksburg route.

I hope to see you soon at your Hd. Qrs., and in the meantime remain

Very truly yrs.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 12, 1862

Dispatches of 10th received. Let a third camp be located at Munroe. Martial law if declared by me can only be administered by Confederate officers or agents. It is not intended to interfere with your powers as Executive of the State. I will wait for further communication from you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 13, 1862.

My purpose was to express that I did not wish to interfere with any power you might constitutionally possess to suspend the ordinary process of law, and to state that if I declared martial law it must be executed by Confederate agents or officers appointed or designated for each locality; as a Provost Marshal or Commandant for a city or district. The difficulty in administration was anticipated by me and caused reluctance in adopting the measure. I can not appoint a State Executive my agent, but as at New Orleans can require my agent to confer and co-operate wherever consistent.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. E. K. Smith,[1] *Knoxville, Tenn.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 13, 1862

You may suspend action in enrolment until you receive special instructions.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Smith, Edmund Kirby (1824-1893), an American soldier, was born at St. Augustine, Florida, May 16, 1824; graduated from West Point in 1845. In the Mexican War he was brevetted first lieutenant for gallantry at Cerro Gordo, and captain for bravery at Contreras and Churubusco. He was assistant professor of mathematics at West Point, 1849-1852; was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant March 9, 1851; was made captain of the second cavalry March 3, 1855, and major January 31, 1861, but resigned from the army April 6, 1861, when Florida seceded from the Union. He was made a brigadier general in the Confederate army, June 17, 1861; was wounded at the battle of Bull Run; took part in General Bragg's invasion of Kentucky in 1862, and, August 30, 1862, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Federal army at Richmond, Ky. As commander of the trans-Mississippi Department, from February, 1863, until his surrender, May 26, 1865, he defeated the Red River expedition under General N. P. Banks in 1864. After the war Smith was President of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, 1866-1868; President of the Western Military academy, 1868-1870; chancellor of the University of Nashville, 1870-1875; professor of mathematics at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., 1875-1893. He died at Sewanee, March 28, 1893.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. O. Moore, Camp Moore, La.
(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 15, 1862

Proclaim in my name suspension of writ of Habeas Corpus in the Parishes of Rapides, Avoyelles, and Natchitoches, and appoint W. L. Sanford, W. W. Johnson, and S. M. Hyams, Provost Marshals as suggested by you, with power to execute arrests and hold prisoners in custody.

If further powers are required hereafter, the proclamation may be extended, but for the present these powers seem sufficient.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, May 13, 1862.

. . . Yesterday afternoon I went to the Hd. Qrs of Gen. Johnston's Army about twenty two or three miles from here. He was out when we reached there and the distance was so great that after consultation it was decided to remain, and I rode in this morning. The Army is reported in fine spirits and condition. If the withdrawal from the Peninsula and Norfolk had been with due preparation and a desirable deliberation, I should be more sanguine of a successful defense of this city. Various causes have delayed the obstructions and the armament of the covering fort, whilst the hasty evacuation of the defences below and the destruction of the Virginia hastens the coming of the enemies' gun-boats.

I know not what to expect when so many failures are to be remembered, yet will try to make a successful resistance and if it were the first attempt would expect to sink the enemy's boats. . . .

Jefferson Davis to his wife.[2]
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va., May 16, 1862.

. . . I returned this evening from a long ride through rain and mud, having gone down the James River to see the works and obstructions on which we rely to stop the gun-boats. The

[1] Printed in "Jefferson Davis," by Mrs. Davis, vol. II, pp. 270-271.
[2] Printed in "Jefferson Davis," by Mrs. Davis, vol. II, pp. 272-274.

attack yesterday has given an impulse to the public, and our working parties have been increased so much that a few days will now enable us to effect more than has been done in weeks past. I reached the fort yesterday, arrived after the firing had ceased, and found the garrison quite elated at their success and each one prompt to tell that the gunboats were clear gone. David was under fire and eloquent in relation to the nervousness of the raw troops, he and the marines being the veterans. . . . The panic here has subsided and with increasing confidence there has arisen a desire to see the city destroyed rather than surrendered. "They lightly talk of scars who never felt a wound," and these talkers have little idea of what scenes would follow the battering of rows of brick houses. I have told them that the enemy might be beaten before Richmond or on either flank, and we would try to do it, but that I could not allow the Army to be penned up in a city. The boats, we ought to be, and I hope are, able to stop. Their army, when reduced to small arms and field pieces I think we can defeat and then a vigorous pursuit will bring results long wished for but not given to the wind. . . . Be of good cheer and continue to hope that God will in due time deliver us from the hands of our enemies and "sanctify to us our deepest distress." As the clouds grow darker, and when, one after another, those who are trusted are detected in secret hostilities, I feel like mustering clans were in me, and that cramping fetters had fallen from my limbs. The great temporal object is to secure our independence and they who engage in strife for personal or party aggrandisement, deserve contemptuous forgetfulness. To me who have no political wish beyond the success of our cause, no personal desire but to be relieved from further connection with office, opposition in any form can only disturb me insomuch as it may endanger the public welfare. . . . Maggie is a wise child. I wish I could learn just to let people alone who snap at me; in forbearance and charity to turn away as well from the cats as the snakes; dear little Joey may well attract admiration and the people who think him like me must have formed complimentary ideas of my appearance. . . . Our church was not fully attended to-day; the families have to a great extent left town and the excitement no doubt kept away many men. Mr. Minnegerode was sick. Bishop Johns preached extemporaneously and his address was fervent and appropriate. I thought him more eloquent than on any former occasion. The resemblance to Mr. Clay in manner is probably accidental.

Jefferson Davis to Col. Jas. Chestnut, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, Va., May 17, 1862

Wrote to you that I would wait for further reply from you, to be given at your convenience.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army of N. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., May 17, 1862.

General:

This will be handed to you by my Aide, Col. Lee, who is sent to communicate fully to you the condition of the works on the James River and the positions and forces on the south side of it. He will give you that details of the attack by the gun boats. Since their repulse, a better spirit prevails here, and we shall no doubt have some effective partizans from the citizens not subject to enrolment. There is much manifestation of a determination that the ancient and honored capital of Va., now the seat of the Confederate Govt., shall not fall into the hands of the enemy; many say rather let it be a heap of rubbish. To you it is needless to say that the defense must be made outside of the city, the question is where and how? If the enemy proceed as heretofore indicated, your position and policy as you stated it in our last interview seems to me to require no modification; but if as reported here, he should change direction, and leaving his boats on the Pamunky, should cross the Peninsula to join those on the James River, the opportunity desired by you to meet him on the land will then be afforded. His boats can ascend some distance up the Chickahominy, and he will probably move to a point on that stream to effect a junction there. This diminishes the space within which his march will be exposed to your attack, unless he should cross the Chickahominy, which we can hardly hope.

There are disadvantages to you in operation below the stream, but if you must choose between that plan and one which gives the enemy the co-operation of his river transports and gun

boats, it would seem that the balance would be on the side of the former. As on all former occasions, my design is to suggest not to direct, recognizing the impossibility of any one to decide in advance; and reposing confidently as well as on your ability as your zeal, it is my wish to leave you with the fullest powers to exercise your judgment.[1]

Col. Lee will communicate fully with you and bear to me any information and reply which you may intrust to him.

Very respectfully & truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[2]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, May 19, 1862.

. . . I have but a moment to say that I am well as usual and busier than heretofore. Gen. Johnston has brought his army back to the suburbs of Richmond, and I have been waiting all day for him to communicate his plans. The enemy have pushed out their pickets and have found out his movement while concealing their own. We are uncertain of everything except that a battle must be near at hand.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Earl Van Dorn, Army of the Mississippi, Corinth.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va. May 20, 1862.

General:

A recent proclamation by the Governor of Arkansas[3] has been brought to my notice which may operate injuriously on our cause, and which it is advisable to counteract so far as it can be properly done. From the tenor of this proclamation which has no doubt been read by you, it is apparent that an impression prevails that the defense of the State of Arkansas,

[1] One of the stock criticisms of President Davis is that he was continually overruling the plans of military commanders in the field. Such charges are not founded on a knowledge of the facts.

[2] Printed in "Jefferson Davis," by Mrs. Davis, p. 275.

[3] Gov. Harris Flannigan.

and indeed of the whole trans-Mississippi district, has been abandoned by the Confederate Government.

On reflection it has occurred to me that the most appropriate and effective mode of preventing any mischievous results from this proclamation would be an address coming from you as Commander of that District to the people embraced within it. Such an address setting forth the fact that your absence is merely temporary; that you and your troops were withdrawn by direction of the Commander of the Dept. for an urgent and special service; that in aiding to hold in check and defeat the army of Halleck in Tennessee you deemed yourself really engaged in defending the West of the Mississippi in the most effective manner; that you had been delayed longer than you had anticipated, but hoped very soon to return for an active campaign in the West with at least as many troops as had been temporarily withdrawn; and urging the people in the meantime to make the best possible preparations for such a campaign and to organize as far as practicable for home defence against the small force that the enemy had sent into Arkansas. Such an address would, I think, have a very happy effect, and might obviate any evil results at home from the Governor's proclamation.

I wish you would consult with General Rice on the subject and determine whether there is any objection to the course suggested, and whether it would not be better that the address should be signed by both of you. Let this communication be considered by you both as confidential. We are engaged in a common and sacred cause, and I would do nothing to indispose Governor Rector against hearty co-operation in our struggle. I am seeking only for the best means of meeting such evil consequences as I fear may result from his proclamation the worst of which is its tendency to inspire our enemies with a belief that there is discord among our people.

The withdrawal of your forces from Arkansas has plainly been construed into an abandonment by the Government of the District to which you were assigned, and an assurance from yourself and General Rice that this is not so will quiet the fears of the people and encourage them to active preparations for resistance to the expeditionary force sent by the enemy among them.

I remain, General,
Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Henry T. Clark, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, May 23, 1862.

You know the importance of maintaining communication South. Will you send a brigade under General Martin to Petersburg for that purpose?

The whole line of R. R. to Wilmington being under General Holmes.

By taking arms from ineffectives here I can add to the arms you have already furnished to four of your regiments enough to complete their armament. Will send arms to Petersburg to meet troops, and will add two light batteries to brigade. Urgent.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, May 23, 1862.

Your request has been complied with as far as possible, and notice was sent to you at Camp Moore.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to J. E. Davis,[1] *Jackson, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, May 26, 1862

Where is Barnes? Could he not assure the men of my wish? If he is out of reach, any one who would discreetly deliver a message might remove fears.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Brother of Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Marshall, Jeffersonville, Va., via Wytheville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

(Not dated,
(probable date May 26, 1862.)

Have you received a copy of the instructions given to Genl. Loring? If so, note reference to yourself. You cannot doubt my good will towards you and I do not doubt your willingness to make any proper sacrifice for our cause.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. etc.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 26, 1862

General:

Yours of yesterday was received this morning. My note to you was handed to Genl. Griffith [1] who had borne a communication from Genl. Featherston,[2] and who I supposed would deliver my note to you. It was not sent by me to Genl. McLaws,[3] nor was it intended to be formally or officially presented. At the time it was written I had heard of objections to the restoration of the 17th Regt. and the 19th was supposed to be one which especially required to be in a Brigade of Mississippians for reasons more likely to be communicated to me than yourself. I gave to Genl. Lee at a subsequent time a list having the number as stated by you of the Regts. which now compose Griffith's Brigade. The only change which would be required in its components now would be the transfer of the Miss. Battalion in exchange for that of Louisiana. And the only alteration I would desire in your proposed organization of the 2d Brigade would be the addition of the 16th Regt. to it when it can be drawn from the Brigade in which it is now serving, viz.: (Trimble's of Ewell's Division). This would combine the ten Infantry Regts. of Miss. in two Brigades and I am confident they would be more effective in battle for being thus

[1] Brigadier-General Richard Griffith, of Mississippi.
[2] Brigadier-General W. S. Featherston, of Mississippi.
[3] Major-General Lafayette McLaws, of Georgia.

associated. You will remember that the proposition made by me last fall was similar to this; then the first Brigade, to be of five Regts. was designated for Whiting[1] and was followed by the offensive rejection of a Miss. Brigade in an insubordinate letter which was withdrawn by him for modification, but of which I have heard nothing further.

The addition of the troops under Brigadiers Anderson and Branch seemed to require another Major General, and upon the recommendations before me Brig. Gen. Hill was selected.

Brig. Genl. Jones was left by the Senate in a position which would render it improper for me to supersede him as a Division Commander unless I should have cause to withdraw his nomination still pending, and thus decide the question as to whether he should be a Major General. Counting the two, Jones and Hill, you have seven Division Commanders; four Brigades to the Division; this would cover your command very nearly.

I have sought some satisfactory solution for the case of Ewell to be Chief of Staff with the rank of Brig. General and can find none which you could ask me to adopt.

Very respectfully and truly yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.

(From "Jefferson Davis," by his wife, pp. 275-279.)

May 28, 1862, Richmond, Va.

. . . We are steadily developing for a great battle, and under God's favor I trust for a decisive victory. The enemy are preparing to concentrate in advance by regular approaches; we must attack him in motion, and trust to the valor of our troops for success. It saddens me to feel how many a mother, wife, and child will be made to grieve in bitterness, but what is there worse than submission to such brutal tyranny as now holds sway over New Orleans. . . .

Seeing no preparation to keep the enemy at a distance, and kept in ignorance of any plan for such purpose, I sent for General R. E. Lee, then at Richmond, in general charge of army operations, and told him why and how I was dissatisfied with the condition of affairs.

He asked me what I thought it was proper to do. Recurring to a conversation held about the time we had together visited

[1] Major-General W. H. C. Whiting, of Mississippi.

General Johnston, I answered that McClellan should be attacked on the other side of the Chickahominy before he matured his preparations for a siege of Richmond. To this he promptly assented, as I anticipated he would, for I knew it had been his own opinion. He then said: "General Johnston should of course advise you of what he expects or proposes to do. Let me go and see him, and defer this discussion until I return."

. . . When General Lee came back, he told me that General Johnston proposed, on the next Thursday, to move against the enemy as follows: General A. P. Hill was to move down on the right flank and rear of the enemy. General G. W. Smith, as soon as Hill's guns opened, was to cross the Chickahominy at the Meadow Bridge, attack the enemy in flank, and by the conjunction of the two it was expected to double him up. Then Longstreet was to come on the Mechanicsville Bridge and attack him in front. From this plan the best results were hoped by both of us.

On the morning of the day proposed, I hastily despatched my office business and rode out toward the Meadow Bridge to see the action commence. On the road I found Smith's division halted and the men dispersed in the woods. Looking for someone from whom I could get information, I finally saw General Hood, and asked him the meaning of what I saw. He told me he did not know anything more than that they had been halted. I asked him where General Smith was; he said he believed he had gone to a farm-house in the rear, adding that he thought he was ill.

Riding on the bluff which overlooks the Meadow Bridge, I asked Colonel Anderson, posted there in observation, whether he had seen anything of the enemy in his front. He said that he had seen only two mounted men across the bridge, and a small party of infantry on the other side of the river, some distance below, both of whom, he said, he could show me if I would go with him into the garden back of the house. There, by the use of a powerful glass, were distinctly visible two cavalry videttes at the further end of the bridge, and a squad of infantry lower down the river, who had covered themselves with a screen of green boughs. The Colonel informed me that he had not heard Hill's guns; it was, therefore, supposed he had not advanced. I then rode down the bank of the river, followed by a cavalcade of sight-seers, who I supposed had been attracted by the expectation of a battle. The little squad of infantry, about fifteen in number, as we approached, fled over the bridge, and were lost to sight.

Near to the Mechanicsville Bridge I found General Howell Cobb, commanding the support of a battery of artillery. He pointed out to me on the opposite side of the river the only enemy he had seen, and which was evidently a light battery. Riding on to the main road which led to the Mechanicsville Bridge, I found General Longstreet, walking to and fro in an impatient, it might be said fretful, manner. Before speaking to him, he said his division had been under arms all day waiting for orders to advance, and that the day was now so far spent that he did not know what was the matter. I afterward learned from General Smith that he had received information from a citizen that the "Beaver-dam Creek presented an impassable barrier, and that he had thus fortunately been saved from a disaster." Thus ended the offensive-defensive programme from which Lee expected much, and of which I was hopeful.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown,[1] *Milledgeville, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Department,
Richmond, May 29, 1862

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of the 8th inst., in due course, but the importance of the subject embraced in it required careful consideration, and this, together with other pressing duties, has caused delay in my reply.

The constitutional question discussed by you in relation to the conscription law had been duly weighed before I recommended to Congress the passage of such a law; it was fully debated in both Houses; and your letter has not only been submitted to my Cabinet, but a written opinion has been required from the Attorney General.

The constitutionality of the law was sustained by very large majorities of both Houses. This decision of the Congress meets the concurrence not only of my own judgment, but of every member of my Cabinet, and a copy of the opinion of the Attorney General herewith enclosed develops the reasons on which his conclusions are based.

I propose, however, from my high respect for yourself and

[1] Governor Brown was an active supporter of the Confederate authorities, but held the opinion that the conscript laws were in conflict with the Constitution.

for other eminent citizens who entertain opinions similar to yours, to set forth somewhat at length my own views on the power of the Confederate Government over its own armies and the militia, and will endeavour not to leave without answer any of the positions maintained in your letter.

The main, if not the only purpose for which independent States form unions or Confederations, is to combine the power of the several members in such manner as to form one united force in all relations with foreign powers, whether in peace or in war.

Each State, amply competent to administer and control its own domestic government, yet too feeble successfully to resist powerful nations, seeks safety by uniting with other States in like condition, and by delegating to some common agent the combined strength of all, in order to secure advantageous commercial relations in peace, and to carry on hostilities with effect in war.

Now the powers delegated by the several States to the Confederate Government, which is their common agent, are enumerated in the 8th Section of the Constitution; each power being distinct, specific, and enumerated in paragraphs separately numbered. The only exception is the 18th paragraph which by its own terms is made dependent on those previously enumerated, as follows,—"18. to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers &c."

Now the *war powers* granted to the Congress are conferred in the following paragraphs: No. 1 gives authority to raise

"revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for *the common defence* and carry on the government &c."

No. 11—"to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal and make rules concerning captures on land and water."

No. 12—"to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years."

No. 13—"to *provide and maintain a navy.*"

No. 14—"to make rules for the government and regulation of *the land and naval forces.*"

It is impossible to imagine a more broad, ample and unqualified delegation of the whole war power of each State than is here contained, with the solitary limitation of the appropriations to two years. The States not only gave power to raise money for the common defence, to declare war, to raise and support armies (in the plural), to provide and maintain a

navy, to govern and regulate both land and naval forces, but they went further and covenanted by the 3d paragraph of the 10th Section not "to engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

I know of but two modes of raising armies within the Confederate States, viz.: voluntary enlistment and draft or conscription. I perceive in the delegation of power to raise armies no restriction as to the mode of procuring troops. I see nothing which confines Congress to one class of men, nor any greater power to receive volunteers than conscripts into its service. I see no limitation by which enlistments are to be received of individuals only, but not of companies or battalions, or squadrons or regiments. I find no limitation of time of service, but only of duration of appropriation. I discover nothing to confine Congress to waging war within the limits of the Confederacy nor to prohibit offensive war. In a word, when Congress desires to raise an army and passes a law for that purpose, the solitary question is under the 18th paragraph, viz.: "Is the law one that is necessary and proper to execute the power to raise armies"?

On this point you say,—

"But did the necessity exist in this case? The conscription Act cannot aid the Government in increasing its supply of *arms* or *provisions,* but can only enable it to call a larger number of men into the field. The difficulty has never been to get *men.* The States have already furnished the Government more than it can arm."

I would have very little difficulty in establishing to your entire satisfaction that the passage of the law was not only necessary, but that it was absolutely indispensable; that numerous regiments of twelve months' men were on the eve of being disbanded, whose places could not be supplied by raw levies in the face of superior numbers of the foe, without entailing the most disastrous results; that the position of our armies was so critical as to fill the bosom of every patriot with the liveliest apprehension; and that the provisions of the law were effective in warding off a pressing danger.—But I prefer to answer your objection on other and broader grounds.

I hold that when a specific power is granted by the Constitution, like that, now in question "to raise armies", Congress is the judge whether the law passed for the purpose of executing that power is "necessary and proper." It is not enough

to say that armies might be raised in other ways, and that therefore this particular way is not "necessary." The same argument might be used against *every* mode of raising armies. To each successive mode suggested, the objection would be that other modes were practicable, and that therefore, the particular mode used was not "necessary." The true and only test is to enquire whether the law is intended and calculated to carry out the object; whether it devises and creates an instrumentality for executing the specific power granted; and, if the answer be in the affirmative, the law is constitutional. None can doubt that the Conscription law is calculated and intended to "raise armies"; it is therefore "necessary and proper" for the execution of that power and is constitutional, unless it comes in conflict with some other provision of our Confederate compact.

You express the opinion that this conflict exists, and support your argument by the citation of those clauses which refer to the Militia. There are certain provisions not cited by you, which are not without influence on my judgment, and to which I call your attention. They will aid in defining what is meant by "militia", and in determining the respective powers of the States and the Confederacy over them.

The several States agree "not to keep troops or ships of war in time of peace." Art. I. Sec. 10. Par. 3.

They further stipulate that, "a well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." (Sec. 9. Par. 13).

That "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the *land or naval forces,* or in *the militia* when in actual service in time of war or public danger" &c. Sec. 9. Par. 16.

What then are militia? They can only be created by law. The arms-bearing inhabitants of a State are liable to become its militia if the law so order, but in the absence of a law to that effect, the men of a State capable of bearing arms are no more militia than they are seamen.

The Constitution also tells us that militia are not *troops,* nor are they any part of the *land or naval forces;* for militia exist in time of peace, and the Constitution forbids the States to keep troops in time of peace, and they are expressly distinguished and placed in a separate category from land or naval forces in the 16th paragraph above quoted; and the words

land and naval forces are shown by paragraphs 12, 13 & 14 to mean the army and navy of the Confederate States.

Now, if militia are not the citizens taken singly, but a body created by law; if they are not troops,—if they are no part of the army and navy of the Confederacy, we are led directly to the definition quoted by the Attorney General, that militia are "a body of soldiers in a State enrolled for discipline." In other words, the term "militia" is a collective term meaning a body of men organized and cannot be applied to the separate individuals who compose the organization.

The Constitution divides the whole military strength of the States into only two classes of organized bodies; one the armies of the Confederacy, the other the militia of the States.

In the delegation of power to the Confederacy, after exhausting the subject of declaring war, raising and supporting armies, and providing a navy, in relation to all which the grant of authority to Congress is *exclusive*, the Constitution proceeds to deal with the other organized body, the militia, and instead of delegating power to Congress alone or reserving it to the States alone, the power is divided as follows, viz.: Congress is to have power,—"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections, and *repel invasions*. (Sec. 8. Par. 15)

"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States; *reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia* according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." (Par. 16)

Congress then has the power to provide for organizing the arms-bearing people of the States into militia; each *State* has the power to *officer* and *train* them when organized.

Congress may call forth the militia to execute Confederate laws; the *State* has not surrendered the power to call them forth to execute *State* laws.

Congress may call them forth to repel invasion; so may the State, for the power is impliedly reserved of governing all the militia, except the part in actual service of the Confederacy.

I confess myself at a loss to perceive in what manner these careful and well defined provisions of the Constitution, regulating the organization and government of the militia, can be understood as applying in the remotest degree to the armies of the Confederacy, nor can I conceive how the grant of *exclusive* power to declare and carry on war by armies raised

and supported by the Confederacy is to be restricted or diminished by the clauses which grant a *divided* power over the militia. On the contrary, the delegation of authority over the militia, so far as granted, appears to me to be plainly an *additional* enumerated power, intended to strengthen the hands of the Confederate Government in the discharge of its paramount duty,—the common defence of the States.

You state after quoting the 12th, 15th, and 16th grants of power to Congress, that

"These grants of power all relate to the same subject matter and are all contained in the same section of the Constitution, and by a well known rule of construction must be taken as a whole and construed together."

This argument appears to me unsound. *All* the powers of Congress are enumerated in one section, and the three paragraphs quoted can no more control each other by reason of their location in the same section, than they can control any of the other paragraphs preceding, intervening, or succeeding. So far as the subject-matter is concerned, I have already endeavored to show that the armies mentioned in the 12th paragraph are a subject-matter as distinct from the militia mentioned in the 15th and 16th, as they from the navy mentioned in the 13th. Nothing can so mislead as to construe together and as a whole the carefully separated clauses which define the different powers to be exercised over distinct subjects by the Congress.

But you add that,

"by the grant of power to Congress to raise and support armies without qualification, the framer of the Constitution intended the regular armies of the Confederacy, and not armies composed of the whole militia of all the States."

I must confess myself somewhat at a loss to understand this position. If I am right that the militia is a *body* of enrolled State soldiers, it is not possible in the nature of things that armies raised by the Confederacy can "be composed of the whole militia of all the States." The militia may be called forth in whole or in part into the Confederate service, but do not thereby become part of the "armies raised" by Congress. They remain militia, and go home when the emergency which provoked their call has ceased. Armies raised by Congress are of course raised out of the *same population* as the militia

organized by the States, and to deny to Congress the power to draft a citizen into the army or to receive his voluntary offer of services because he is a member of the State militia, is to deny the power to raise an army at all, for practically all men fit for service in the army may be embraced in the militia organization of the several States. You seem, however, to suggest rather than directly to assert that the conscript law may be unconstitutional, because it comprehends all arms-bearing men between 18 and 35 years; at least this is an inference which I draw from your expression, "armies composed of the *whole* militia of *all* the States." But it is obvious that if Congress have power to draft into the armies raised by it any citizens at all, (without regard to the fact whether they are, or not, members of militia organizations,) the power must be co-extensive with the exigencies of the occasion or it becomes illusory; and the extent of the exigency must be determined by Congress; for the Constitution has left the power without any other check or restriction than the Executive veto. Under ordinary circumstances the power thus delegated to Congress is scarcely felt by the States. At the present moment, when our very existence is threatened by armies vastly superior in numbers to ours, the necessity for defence has induced a call, not "for the whole military of all the States", not for any militia, but for men to compose *armies* for the Confederate States.

Surely there is no mystery in this subject. During our whole past history, as well as during our recent one year's experience as a new Confederacy, the militia "have been called forth to repel invasion" in numerous instances, and they never came, otherwise than as bodies organized by the States, with their company, field and *general officers;* and when the emergency had passed they went home again. I cannot perceive how any one can interpret the conscription law as taking away from the States the power to appoint officers to their militia. You observe on this point in your letter that, unless your construction is adopted,

"the very object of the States in reserving the power of appointing the officers is defeated, and that portion of the Constitution is not only a nullity, but the whole military power of the States and the entire control of the militia, with the appointment of the officers, is vested in the Confederate Government, whenever it chooses to call its own action 'raising an army' and not 'calling forth the militia.' "

I can only say, in reply to this, that the power of Congress depends on the real nature of the act it proposes to perform, not on the name given to it; and I have endeavored to show that its action is really that of "raising an army", and bears no resemblance to calling forth the militia." I think I may safely venture the assertion that there is not one man out of a thousand of those who will do service under the Conscription Act, that will describe himself while in the Confederate service as being a militia man; and if I am right in this assumption, the popular understanding concurs entirely with my own deductions from the Constitution as to the meaning of the word "militia."

My answer has grown to such a length that I must confine myself to one more quotation from your letter. You proceed:

"Congress shall have power to *raise armies*. How shall it be done? The answer is clear. In conformity to the provision of the Constitution, which expressly provides that, when the militia of the States are called forth to *repel invasion* and employed in the service of the Confederate States, which is now the case, the State shall appoint the officers."

I beg you to observe that the answer, which you say is clear, is not an answer to the question put. The question is, How are armies to be raised? The answer given is, that, when militia are called upon to repel invasion, the State shall appoint the officers.

There seems to me to be a conclusive test on this whole subject. By our Constitution Congress may declare war, *offensive* as well as *defensive*. It may acquire territory. Now, suppose that, for good cause and to right unprovoked injuries, Congress should declare war against Mexico and invade Sonora. The militia could not be called forth in such a case, the right to call it being limited "to repel invasions." Is it not plain that the law now under discussion, if passed under such circumstances, could by no possibility be aught else than a law to "raise an army"? Can one and the same law be construed into a "calling forth the militia", if the war be defensive, and a "raising of armies", if the war be offensive?

At some future day, after our independence shall have been established, it is not improbable supposition that our present enemy may be tempted to abase his naval power by depredations on our commerce, and that we may be compelled to assert our rights by offensive war. How is it to be carried on? Of what is the army to be composed? If this Government can-

not call on its arms-bearing population otherwise than as militia, and if the militia can only be called forth to repel invasion, we should be utterly helpless to vindicate our honor or protect our rights. War has been styled "the terrible litigation of nations." Have we so formed our Government that, in this litigation, we must never be plaintiffs? Surely this cannot have been the intention of the framers of our compact.

In no respect in which I can view this law can I find just reason to distrust the propriety of my action in approving and signing it, and the question presented involves consequences both immediate and remote too momentous to permit me to leave your objections unanswered.

In conclusion, I take great pleasure in recognizing that the history of the past year affords the amplest justification of your assertion that, if the question had been whether the conscription law was necessary in order to raise men in Georgia, the answer must have been in the negative. Your noble State has promptly responded to every call that it has been my duty to make on her; and to you personally, as her Executive, I acknowledge my indebtedness, for the prompt, cordial and effective co-operation you have afforded me in the effort to defend our common country against the common enemy.

I am very respectfully,

Yr. obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Department
Richmond, May 30, 1862.

Sir:

Your letter of the 14th inst., in relation to the operation of the conscription laws in the State of Mississippi, has been received, and referred to the War Department for consideration. The following is the report thereupon:

"C. S. A. War Department
Richmond, May 29, 1862

"His Excellency Jefferson Davis,
President C. S. A.

"Sir:

The letter of the Govr. of Mississippi, referred to this Department, has been duly considered, and I have the honor to

report, that applications of a similar character have been very numerous, and I have uniformly replied, that, overseers not being exempted by the Act of Congress, the Department had no authority to extend the provisions of the law. I have pointed out that the remedy was to be found in an application to Congress at its next session in August, and that in the meantime great injury could not result, for the following reasons, viz.:

1. The conscription Act exempted all persons over 35 years of age.

2. The enrolment had not yet been commenced, and a considerable period would elapse before arrangements could be made to carry out the provisions of the law.

3. In case of peculiar hardship, substitutes might be furnished.

"Very respectfully yr. obt. svt.
(sgd.) GEO. W. RANDOLPH
"Secretary of War."

The impression which you allude to as prevailing in the community, "that there is odium attached to those who delay enlisting until they are brought into the ranks under the provisions of that (the conscription) law," must arise from an entire misapprehension of its object; which is to ascertain the number of persons, between the ages of 18 and 35 available for military service, and to have them prepared for such service, in camps of instruction, that they may be called upon as the exigencies of the country require. The law simply offers a substitute for the previous method of raising troops—its operation embraces all communities of the Confederate States, and can in no way bring discredit upon any individual.

Very respectfully yr. obt. servant,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. M. L. Smith,[1] *Vicksburg, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 31, 1862

(No address)
The Secty. of Navy is in charge of several Navy officials. They will receive any orders, instructions or aid you can give them.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Graduate of West Point in 1842, promoted for gallantry in War with Mexico; major general C. S. A. 1862-1865; died 1866.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

May 31, 1862, Richmond.

. . . I packed some valuable books and the sword I wore for many years, together with the pistols used at Monterey and Buena Vista, and my old dressing case; these articles will have a value to the boys in after time and to you now . . . they will probably go forward today.

Thank you for congratulations on success of Jackson.

Had the movement been made when I first proposed it, the effect would have been more important.

In that night's long conference, it was regarded impossible. We have not made any balloon discoveries. The only case in which much is to be expected from such means will be when large masses of troops are in motion.

Yesterday morning I thought we would engage the enemy, reported to be in large force on the upper Chickahominy. The report was incorrect as I verified in the afternoon by a long ride in that locality. I saw nothing more than occasional cavalry videttes, and some pickets with field artillery.

Gen. Lee rises with the occasion . . . and seems to be equal to its conception. I hope others will develop capacity in execution. . . . If we fight and are victorious, we can all soon meet. If the enemy retreat to protect Washington, of which there are vague reports, I can probably visit you.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[2]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

June 2, 1862, Richmond, Va.

. . . On Saturday we had a severe battle and suffered severely in attacking the enemy's entrenchments of which our Generals were poorly informed. Some of them, and those the most formidable, were found by receiving their fire. Our troops behaved most gallantly, drove the enemy out of their encampments, captured their batteries, carried their advanced redoubts, and marched forward under fire more heavy than I had ever previously witnessed. Our loss was heavy, that of

[1] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 279-280.
[2] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 291-293.

the enemy unknown. Gen. J. E. Johnston is severely wounded. The poor fellow bore his suffering most heroically. When he was about to be put into the ambulance to be removed from the field, I dismounted to speak to him; he opened his eyes, smiled and gave me his hand, said he did not know how seriously he was hurt, but feared a fragment of a shell had injured his spine. It was probably a shell loaded with musket balls as there appear to be the wound of a ball in his shoulder ranging down towards the lungs. I saw him yesterday evening, his breathing was labored but he was free from fever and seemed unshaken in his nervous system. Mrs. Johnston is deeply distressed and very watchful. They are at Mr. Crenshaw's house in Church Hill. I offered to share our house with them, but his staff obtained a whole house and seemed to desire such arrangement. Gen. Lee is in the field comdg. Gen. G. W. Smith has come in this morning sick, his old disease it is said.

Yesterday we had some heavy skirmishing, and increased our stock of prisoners but no important result was gained. Unaccountable delays in bringing some of our troops into action prevented us from gaining a decisive victory on Saturday. The opportunity being lost we must try to find another. The same point and manner of attack would not succeed if again attempted.

God will, I trust, give us wisdom to see and valor to execute the measures necessary to vindicate the just cause.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes,[1] *or Commanding Officer, Goldsboro, N. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 3, 1862

Have you any information of Burnside? Answer.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Holmes, Theophilus Hunter (1804-1880), an American soldier, was born in Clinton, N. C., November 13, 1804, and graduated from West Point in 1829. He served in the Seminole War; was promoted to the rank of captain December 9, 1838; served in the Mexican War and was brevetted major for gallantry in the battle of Monterey. He resigned from the Federal Army April 22, 1861; was commissioned colonel in the Confederate Army; was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, June 5, 1861; and was subsequently made major-general. He commanded the Confederate troops at the battle of Aquia Creek and from September, 1862,

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

June 3, 1862, Richmond, Va.

. . . I cannot telegraph to you of our military operations without attracting attention and exciting speculation, which it is desirable to avoid. The events of the last few days have not varied our condition in any decisive manner and you have seen enough of rumor to teach you to reject babbling.

Gen. Johnston is improving and though his confinement must be long, it is confidently believed that his wounds will not prove fatal. Gen. Smith is sick, a return of his former disease, induced it is said, by loss of sleep.

The movements of the enemy are slow and well concealed, our scouts will I hope succeed better hereafter than heretofore in obtaining intelligence.

The Yankees had been eight or ten days fortifying the position in which we attacked them on Saturday, and the first intimation I had of their having slept on this side of the Chickahominy was after I had gone into an encampment from which they were driven. The ignorance of their works caused much of the loss we suffered. . . . The people of Vicksburg and Grand Gulf have shown more spirit than those of ——

If Mississippi troops lying in camp, when not retreating under Beauregard, were at home, they would probably keep a section of the river free for our use and closed against Yankee transports.

It is hard to see incompetence losing opportunity and wasting hard-gotten means, but harder still to bear, is the knowledge that there is no available remedy. I cultivate hope and patience, and trust to the blunders of our enemy and the gallantry of our troops for ultimate success.

Tell Helen that Capt. Keary has been in the column most distinguished of late. . . . Jackson is probably now marching towards this side of the Blue Ridge. I will write to Captain Keary today by one of Gen. Jackson's staff who leaves in the morning.

to March, 1863, was in command of the trans-Mississippi Department, having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. Holmes made an unsuccessful attack on Helena, Ark., July 3, 1863. His health failing in 1864, he was placed in command of the reserve forces in North Carolina. He died near Fayetteville, N. C., June 21, 1880.

[1] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 293-294.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

TELEGRAM

Richmond, June 4, 1862

The call made on you for troops was the result of pressing necessity. It was hoped that the season would secure you against operations inland, and that you could spare troops without weakening your strength for the defence of Charleston. You can estimate the consequences to the common cause which depend upon success here. Send three regiments or if you think it safe to do so, send the largest number named by you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, June 4, 1862

Your despatches of yesterday received. It was not intended to weaken the force for defence of Charleston but to obtain troops by withdrawing from positions where the season will prevent active operations. The proposition was induced by a seeming necessity. To your inquiry I answer, not safe. The event may be local. Its consequences will be general.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. J. Jackson, Comdg. in Valley of Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., June 4, 1862

General:

I return to you my congratulations for the brilliant campaign you have conducted against the enemy in the valley of Virginia. Were it practicable to send to you reinforcements, it should be done and your past success shows how surely you would with an adequate force destroy the wicked designs of the invader of our

homes and assailer of our political rights. From the Hon. Mr. Bottcler I have learned something of your probable movements. At this distance it is not possible to obtain such exact information as would justify a conclusion, but I hope you will not find at Front Royal a force which you cannot overcome. The only aid which seemed to be in reach was such as could be collected at Staunton. The comdg. officer at that place has been directed to gather all he could and move down the valley to communicate with you. Such a movement may have an effect on the enemy beyond its real value. But it is on your skill and daring that reliance is to be placed. The army under your command encourages us to hope for all which men can achieve.

Very respectfully & truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Pemberton,[1] *Charleston, S. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 4, 1862

Under the circumstances communicated in your last dispatch you will delay compliance with my requisition. The troops being brought to Charleston can be sent on in a few days if the demonstration proves a feint. If you gain a victory you then can do more for this line than was proposed.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Pemberton, John Clifford (1814-1881), an American soldier, was born at Philadelphia, Pa., August 10, 1814, and graduated from West Point in 1837. In the Mexican War he acted as aid to General Worth and was brevetted captain for gallantry at Monterey, and major for gallantry in the Battle of Molino del Rey. He resigned from the U. S. Army, April 29, 1861; was commissioned major of artillery in the Confederate Army, June 15, 1861; and two days later was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. He served north of the Nansemond River in Virginia until November, 1861; was then transferred to the eighth military district of South Carolina; was subsequently promoted to major-general in January, 1862, and placed in charge of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, October 13, 1862, and placed in charge of Mississippi and Louisiana. He disobeyed General Johnston's orders to unite with him to strike General Grant's rear at Clinton, and to evacuate Vicksburg; was defeated at Baker's Creek, May 16, 1863, and at Big Black Bridge the next day. He skilfully conducted the defense of Vicksburg but was forced, on July 4, 1863, to surrender with his army of 31,600 men and 172 cannon. He resigned his commission after his exchange but was in May, 1864, placed in charge of the artillery defense of Richmond with rank of lieutenant-colonel. He died at Penllyn, Pa., July 13, 1881.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Sarah E. Cochrane.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Office, Richmond, June 5, 1862

Mrs. Sarah E. Cochrane,
Camden, Wilcox Co., Alabama,
Madam,

Accept my grateful acknowledgement of your generous offer to place your silver plate at the disposal of the Government with a view to its being coined into money.

As Congress has not yet provided for the establishment of a coinage, it would not be practicable to carry out the object to which you desire so liberally to contribute; nor do I think that the time has yet come,—I trust it may never come—when it will be necessary to make such a sacrifice as you propose. Your letter has, however, been sent to the Secretary of the Treasury to be placed on file in his Dept., so that should I be mistaken and the necessity arise, your proffer may be accepted as a material aid, and as a moral example for others to follow.

The devotion, energy and patriotism which the daughters of the South have displayed since the commencement of our struggle for independence, as well in the fortitude with which they have parted with husbands, sons and brothers gone forth to the battlefield, as in the unremitting attention with which they have ministered to the wants, relieved the sufferings, and cheered the spirits of our gallant soldiers, have won for them the undying gratitude of their countrymen, and will constitute one of the brightest records in our country's history.

I remain, Madam, very respectfully yours,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Major Genl. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 5, 1862

Did you receive my despatch of last night?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Major Genl. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 5, 1862

When your condition permits, send on the troops. The urgency increases. Order was sent yesterday to forward you from Danville some ninety-two pounders. Anything we can furnish, you shall have. The Forts, if well defended, will I hope protect the Harbor. (Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. G. Walker,[1] Drewrys Bluff, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 6, 1862

Have you any information of the position of the enemy in the River today? How far down do your scouts keep observation? Has the obstruction been affected by the rise in the river?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mr. O. A. Bull,[2] Atlanta, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 7, 1862

Despatch received. Every effort shall be made to comply with your request. I deeply sympathize with you in your affliction.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Walker, John George (1822-1893), an American soldier, was born in Jefferson City, Missouri, July 22, 1822; was educated at the Jesuit college, St. Louis; and May 27, 1846, was commissioned a lieutenant in the First Mounted Rifles. He was brevetted captain August 1, 1847, for gallantry at San Juan de los Llanos, Mexico, and was made a regular captain June 30, 1851. He resigned from the U. S. army July 31, 1861, to enter the military service of the Confederacy; was commissioned major March 16, 1861; was made a brigadier-general January 9, 1862; and a major-general November 8th of the same year. He took part in the fight against McClellan, helped to capture Harper's Ferry, was present at the battle of Sharpsburgh, was transferred to the trans-Mississippi Department, took part in the battle at Borbeau, November 3, 1863, and his division did splendid work in the Red River campaign. After the war he served as consul-general at Bogota. He died in Washington, D. C., July 20, 1893.

[2] Judge Orville A. Bull, judge of the Cowita Circuit 1853-1864, which included the city of Atlanta.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. H. Sibley,[1] *Comdg. San Antonio, Texas.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Office
Richmond, June 7, 1862

General:

I avail myself of an opportunity of communicating with you in a speedy and direct manner, through your Aide de Camp, Capt. Ochiltree. I rejoice in being able to congratulate you on the distinguished successes of your command, and when I consider your field of operations, the superior number and means of supply of the enemy, and the other difficulties under which you have labored, the conduct of yourself and the Army under your command is recognized as most praiseworthy.

With the assistance of the two Regiments sent to you from Texas, I trust that you will be able to meet the more immediate and pressing exigencies that may arise, and that your own ability and military resources and the valor of your troops may supply comparative inferiority in numbers and munitions of war. Captain Ochiltree will inform you of our condition in this region; and this will be to you a sufficient explanation for failure to reinforce you to the full extent of your necessities.

With best wishes for your continued success, and with that we may hereafter meet to enjoy in peace the independence for which you are struggling, I am

Very truly and respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Sibley, Henry Hopkins (1816-1886), an American soldier, was born at Nachitoches, La., May 25, 1816, and graduated from West Point in 1838. He served in the Seminole and Mexican wars; was brevetted major March 25, 1847, for gallantry in the skirmish at Medelin, near Vera Cruz; resigned from the U. S. army May 13, 1861; was commissioned a colonel in the Confederate Army, May 16, 1861; was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general June 17, 1861, and placed in charge of the Department of Mexico. He defeated the forces under Colonel Canby at Valverde, N. M., in 1862, and then occupied Albuquerque and Sante Fe; however he was forced to abandon these places for want of supplies. He subsequently served in the trans-Mississippi Department. After the war he served as a general of artillery in the Egyptian Army, 1869-1874. He died at Fredericksburg, Va., August 23, 1886. Sibley invented the Sibley tent.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Confederate States of America,
Executive Department,
June 11, 1862.

. . . I am in usual health though the weather has been very inclement. The roads to the different positions of the Army could not be worse and remain passable, the long boots presented by Captain Keary protect me from mud but the poor horse suffers on every ride. The Green-Briar horse which was to be so gentle as to serve your purposes is a fretful rearing animal which it is troublesome for me to ride in the presence of troops. Kentucky is quite gentle compared to Green-Briar.

The enemy is entrenching and bringing up heavy guns on the York River Railroad *which not being useful to our Army nor paid for by our treasury was of course not destroyed.* His policy is to advance by regular approaches covered by successive lines of earth works, that reviled policy of West Pointism, and spades, which is sure to succeed against those who do not employ like means to counteract it.

Politicians, newspapers, and uneducated officers have created such a prejudice in our Army against labor that it will be difficult until taught by sad experience to induce our troops to work efficiently. The greatest generals of ancient and modern times have won their renown by labor. Victories were the results. Cæzar who revolutionized the military system of his age never slept in a camp without entrenching it. France, Spain and Great Britain retain to this day memorials of Roman Invasion in the massive works constructed by the Roman Armies. . . .

I will endeavor by movements which are not without great hazard to countervail the enemy's policy. If we succeed in rendering his works useless to him and compel him to meet us on the field, I have much confidence in our ability to give him a complete defeat, and then it may be possible to teach him the pains of invasion and to feed our Army on his territory. The issues of campaigns can never be safely foretold; it is for us to do all which can be done and trustingly to leave our fate to Him who rules the universe.

We are reinforcing Gen. Jackson and hope to crown his suc-

[1] Partly printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 310-311.

cesses with a complete victory over all the enemy in the Valley of Va. . . .

Brother Joe has been to the Hurricane and Briarfield. . . . I was much distressed when I heard he was going, the exposure at this season in an open boat was very hazardous. It was from that cause my Father died, when though of many years, his constitution was as sound as that of many men of the age of forty. This morning I received the following dispatch date Jackson, June 10, "I have just returned from Hurricane brought twelve negroes from Briarfield and fifteen from Hurricane, the measles at Briarfield prevented my bringing more. All came without compulsion." J. E. Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(Answer on back of telegram dated June 11th, 1862)

Your telegram received and read with regret and disappointment. To which Commanding Officer do you refer? Can you suggest some one who will supply the want of local knowledge? I desire your advice, and you may rely upon my doing whatever is practicable.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. Van Dorn, Baldwin, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, (no date, probably June 12, 1862

Your telegram received. Adjt. Genl. will write to you for further information. Hebert and Moore were appointed on your recommendation and my confidence in them. Please notice law in relation to Staff. Request for E. Miller noted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to C. R. Dickson, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 12, 1862

An article copied from the Raymond Gazette is circulated to create the impression that I have preserved my cotton when that of my neighbors was burned. I do not know what has been done, but do know that it is basely false that I have sought to preserve my cotton or given the ordinary attention to my private affairs. Please learn the facts and answer.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 12, 1862

Beauregard has stated that, his own health not being strong, he cannot spare Bragg who has much of the administration duty of the army to perform. Perhaps Beauregard would be glad, under the circumstances, to take charge of the Dept. of La. Ca. & Georgia. If you will be satisfied with that arrangement, it might be well for you to propose it to him.

Jefferson Davis to General Robert E. Lee.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Offices,
Richmond, June 12, 1862

General:

Finding you so overwhelmed with visitors yesterday, I forebore to add to the questions pressed upon your consideration, and now take this method to bring to your notice one which had some time since been presented to General Johnston, and had been, I hoped, disposed of; but by a letter from Capt. Martin of the 19th Regt. Missi. Infy., I learned yesterday that the matter still waited for a decision.

After Colonel Mott had been killed and Lieut. Col. Lamar

had been compelled by ill-health to leave the Regiment, Major Mullins who had been assigned to that Regt. changed the relative rank of the captains as previously recognized and placed Capt. Martin in arrest because he would not do duty in the lower rank to which he was ordered by the Major. My supposition was that there must have been some authority from the War Dept., but the Adjt. Genl. says none was given. It therefore seems to have been a clear usurpation, an illegal order, which the officer (Capt. Martin) properly resisted.

Require Major Mullins to make a full explanation of his conduct, and in the meantime see that Capt. Martin is released from arrest, with the least practicable delay.

The letter of Capt. Martin was referred to the Adj. Genl., with an endorsement to the effect that the order of Major Mullins, changing the relative rank of the officers of the 19th Regt. of Missi. was a nullity. This is one of the Regiments which was to form the second Missi. Brigade, as set forth in the programme you laid before Genl. Johnston, and which remains yet unorganized.

Very truly and respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

June 12th, 1862.

I received your telegram this morning, and answered that General Bragg was the proper man to be sent for a few weeks to Charleston, if he could be spared. If this could be done, it would be of great service. Bragg was once stationed on Sullivan's Island, and has the energy and judgment that we so much require there. General Pemberton seems confused and uncertain about everything, except that he was determined to dismantle Coles' Island and Battery Island. I protested, and wrote General Lee against it, for I knew it would open up the approaches to Charleston, and enable the enemy to bring his gun boats in the Stone near enough to support any movement he would make on James' Island. . . . Coles' Island is the only healthy point on which to station troops to protect James' Island. It gives the enemy all the healthy positions and the advantage of the sea exposure and drives us back to occupy a line from Elliott's Cut to Secessionville, along which no white

man can live in summer without country fever. . . . The escape from Cat Island Battery for a Garrison was also complete in any event, and if the batteries had been kept up as I have had them since January, 1861, no vessels would have attempted an entrance this season, whereas now he [Pemberton] has opened up the richest country in the South, on Waccaman and Santee, exposed some 60,000 negroes, and destroyed the prospect of a rough rice crop of 1,500,000 bushels, besides other products. He did this without giving me the slightest notice and I did not know of it until some eight days after it had been done. . . . I considered it of great importance, at present, to our Confederacy that Charleston should be defended from capture as it is now almost the only port through which we can hold intercourse with the foreign world. I therefore spoke of General Pemberton freely, because the country was concerned. I have no doubt, in command of a brigade or division he might act his part as a brave and good officer, but to command the defences of Charleston requires a variety of talent. . . .

Nothing but a large force, and a thorough General can save the City now from great disaster, or a decided victory for us before Richmond, and the repulse of that army, and a movement on towards Maryland and so forth, overwhelming defeat to them in Virginia would throw the Government at Washington into confusion, and heavy transports or large reinforcements at Charleston would thereby be prevented. It strikes me that, having lost most of our ports and cities on the coast, it is of the last importance that Charleston should be defended successfully, and I would most respectfully urge that an officer of large experience be immediately sent there. . . .

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. Van Dorn, Tupelo, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 13, 1862

Your despatch of yesterday received. Genl. Price has not arrived. The Dept. is large and will be important. Regret the necessity which has kept you so long absent. Wrote to you about affairs in Arkansas.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. T. A. Mellon,[1] *Vicksburg, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 13, 1862

Your despatch received. M. McAffee is not here.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, June 13, 1862.

. . . My heart sunk within me at the news of the suffering of my angel baby. Your telegram of 12th gives assurance of the subsidence of disease. But the look of pain and exhaustion, the gentle complaint, "I am tired" which has for so many years oppressed me, seems to have been revived; and unless God spares me another such trial what is to become of I do not know. Dr. Garnett will I hope reach you this morning. He carried with him what he regarded as a specific remedy. . . . My ease, my health, my property, my life I can give to the Cause of my country. The heroism which could lay my wife and children on any sacrificial altar is not mine. "Spare us good Lord."

I was out until late last night on the lines of the Army. The anticipated demonstration was not made and reconnaissance convinces me that the reported movement of the enemy was unfounded. He keeps close under cover, is probably waiting for reinforcements or resolved to fight only behind his own entrenchments. We must find, if possible, the means to get at him without putting the breasts of our men in antagonism to his heaps of earth. Beauregard claims by telegram to have made a "brilliant and successful" retreat and pleads his constant occupation as the cause of his delay to reply to the inquiry made through the Adjt. Genl. as to reason for his retreat, and the abandonment of the Memphis and Charleston R. Road. There are those who can only walk along when it is near to the ground and I fear he has been placed too high for his mental strength, as he does not exhibit the ability manifested on smaller fields. The news from

[1] Colonel Third Reg. Miss. Inf. C. S. A.

the Valley of Va. confirms the report of the flight of the enemy and the danger to our troops has been mainly passed. We have sent reinforcements who as fresh troops will move in front of the old command. . . . I saw a little boy yesterday in the street, he had his trousers rolled up and was wading in the gutter, he looked something like Jeff, and when I persuaded him to get out of the water he raised his sunny face and laughed, but denied my conclusion. Mrs. Greenhow is here, she has her little daughter with her who inquired very affectionately for Maggie and asked if there were any Yankees where she was. The Madam looks much changed and has the air of one whose nerves are shaken by mental torture. Gen. Lee's wife has arrived, her servants left her and she found it uncomfortable to live without them.[1]

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. M. L. Smith,[2] Vicksburg, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 14, 1862

What progress is being made towards the completion of the Arkansas? What is the condition of your defences at Vicksburg? Can we do anything to aid you? Disasters above and below increase the value of your position. I hope and expect much from you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 211-213.

[2] Smith, Martin Luther (1819-1866), an American soldier, was born near Ithaca, N. Y., September 9, 1819, and was graduated from West Point and brevetted a second lieutenant, topographical engineers, in 1842. He served as an engineer on surveys in Florida, 1843-1845; was engaged on topographical surveys in Georgia and Texas, 1846-1847; was brevetted a first lieutenant May 30, 1848, for gallantry at the capture of the City of Mexico; was promoted to the rank of captain, July 1, 1856; was in charge of the coast survey office, Washington, D. C., 1857-1859; and resigned from the Army, April 1, 1861, to fight for the Confederacy. He was commissioned a major of engineers in the Confederate army, May 16, 1861; was made a brigadier-general, April 11, 1862, planned the defenses of New Orleans in June, 1862; planned and constructed the defense of Vicksburg; repulsed an attack of Sherman on that place in December, 1862, but surrendered with the army July 4, 1863. Having been exchanged as a prisoner early the following year, he established the lines on which the battles were fought from the Wilderness to Petersburg. He died at Savannah, Ga., July 29, 1866.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Braxton Bragg,[1] *Tupelo, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 14, 1862

You will immediately proceed to Jackson Miss. and temporarily assume command of the Department now commanded by General Lovell.

After General Magruder joins, your further services then may be dispensed with. The necessity is urgent and absolute.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. P. Johnston,[1] *A. D. C.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 14, 1862

General:

You are hereby directed to proceed to the Head Quarters of the Army commanded by Genl. Beauregard for the purpose of

[1] Bragg, Braxton (1817-1876), an American soldier, was born in Warren County, North Carolina, March 22, 1817, and graduated from West Point in 1837. Bragg fought in the Seminole Wars, 1837-1839 and 1841-1842, and under General Taylor in the Mexican War; was brevetted captain for gallantry at Fort Brown; major for his gallantry at Monterey; and lieutenant-colonel for gallantry at Buena Vista. He resigned from the army, January 3, 1856; and was commissioner of public works of Louisiana, 1859-1861. He entered the military service of the Confederacy as a brigadier-general and was placed in charge of Pensacola, Fla.; was promoted to major-general in February, 1862, and assigned to the army of the Mississippi. He took a conspicuous part in the battle of Shiloh and was subsequently promoted to the rank of full general. In August, 1862, he invaded Kentucky, but General Buell out-maneuvered him, forced his retreat, and defeated him in the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862. Bragg was again defeated at Murfreesboro, December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863. He defeated General Rosecrans at the battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863; but he was himself utterly routed by Grant in the battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25, 1863. On account of dissatisfaction he was replaced by General Hardee December 2, 1863. He acted as military adviser to President Davis in 1864. In the fall of 1864 he led an unsuccessful expedition to oppose General Sherman's march to the Sea. In February, 1865, he joined General Johnston. After the war he superintended harbor improvements at Mobile, Ala. He died at Galveston, Texas, September 27, 1876.

[1] Johnston, William Preston (1831-1899), an American educator, son of Albert Sidney Johnston, was born at Louisville, Ky., January 5, 1831; was graduated from Yale College in 1852, and from the Louisville Law School in 1853. He was commissioned a major of the first Kentucky infantry in the Confederate army in 1861, and subsequently, with the rank of colonel, served as Jefferson Davis's aide de camp; was captured with Davis and was imprisoned at Fort Delaware. He was professor of history and

inspection and report. You will report to Genl. Beauregard in person, and hand to him this, your letter of authority as well as of instructions. You will ask of the General, to be communicated to me, the following interrogatories, and having received his reply, will have such conference with him as will enable you thoroughly to inform me as to the several points submitted:

1. I desire to know what were the circumstances and purposes of the retreat from the Charleston and Memphis R. R. to the position now occupied.

2. What is the plan of future operations? And whether an advance of the Army is contemplated and what prospect there is of the recovery of the Territory which has been yielded.

3. Why was it not deemed advisable to occupy the hills north and east of Corinth, and could not a stronger line than that around Corinth have been selected?

4. What was the cause of the sickness at Camp Corinth? Would it have been avoided by occupying the higher ground in front? Has it been avoided by retiring to the present position?

5. Was it at no time practicable to cut the enemy's line of communication, so as to compel him to abandon the Tennessee River, or to permit us to occupy Nashville?

6. What means were employed, after the fall of Island 10, to prevent the descent of the Missi. River by the enemy's gunboats? What dispositions were made to defend Memphis, and what was the cause of failure to preserve that most important of our lines of communication?

7. What loss of troops, stores, or arms, occurred at the time of the retreat from Corinth?

Respectfully your obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 19, 1862

My dear General:

Colonel Browne handed me your memorandum this morning. If an unattached La. company of artillery, or even of infantry,

literature in Washington and Lee University, 1867-1874; president of the Louisiana State University, 1880-1883; and president of Tulane University, 1883-1899. He wrote The Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, 755 pp., New York, 1878, and other books. He died in Lexington, Va., July 17, 1899.

[1] Son of Gen. Zachary Taylor; lieutenant-general C. S. A.; author of "Destruction and Reconstruction."

can be found, I shall be glad to assign it to you to receive the guns which you have won and which have been presented to you.

I regret that I cannot comply with your request to attach a company to the 9th La. Regt. to take the place of the company which fell into the hands of the enemy at Huntsville. The captured company must be returned on the rolls of the regiment to which it belongs, or it will lose its pay. Arrangements are, however, in progress for a general exchange of prisoners, and I hope that with an increase of prisoners on our side we may soon get all of our own men back.

I have long desired to recognize Major Wheat's service, and once made the attempt by the junction of two battalions to raise his command to a regiment. If it can consistently be done in the manner proposed by you, I will gladly avail myself of the opportunity.

Your commendation of Colonel Hays will be remembered. It would be well for you to address me an official letter commending him, as in the brief memorandum you left.

I have directed inquiries, with the hope that Capt. Girardey's company may be attached to your Brigade.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 19, 1862

Your despatch received. A blunder frustrated my effort to furnish you with long-range rifles. One thousand, intended for your operations, were ordered to Gov. Pettus, but were sent to Corinth. Since that became known a thousand muskets have been sent, and tomorrow thirteen hundred more will go also about one hundred long-range rifles being all that remained. Complaint is made to me that your agents are ordered to burn cotton which not likely in their judgment to fall into the hands of the enemy. It is not always possible to decide; but if the probability be in favor of safety it is a public duty to protect and clearly not for the public interest to destroy. A change of circumstance would require a change of action. For information I refer to Capt. W. H. Johnson.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 19, 1862

My efforts to provide for the military wants of your section have been sadly frustrated. Genl. Bragg was ordered to go immediately to Jackson, and I did not doubt would reach there by Monday last, but after he received the order General Beauregard turned over the command of the retreating army to him and left on surgeon's certificate for the benefit of his health. Last evening this became known to me, and I sent a telegram directing Genl. Van Dorn to proceed with all possible despatch to assume the command of the Department of South Missi. and East Louisiana. I hope he will answer the popular desire. The arms referred to in a former despatch were one thousand Enfield Rifles; by some misunderstanding it is supposed they were sent from Mobile to Corinth. To repair the evil, a like number of muskets were sent to you two days since. A special agent is to leave tomorrow evening with thirteen hundred muskets and about one hundred and seventy five long-range rifles to be delivered to Gen. M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, route by Mobile & Jackson. Some arms said to be on their way from Grenada to Gainesville have been directed to be stopped at Jackson. I wish you would give any aid which may be required in repairing and cleaning them. The heroic determination of my neighbors gives assurance that you will use effectively all the means you possess. I would they were larger and earnestly wish it were consistent for me to be with you in the struggle.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Gov. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 19, 1862

On receipt of your despatch communicating reply of General Beauregard, General Cooper was directed to proceed to Charleston to make a thorough examination of the troops and defences and to confer fully with General Pemberton.

Your subsequent despatch, expressing a wish for the presence of either Genl. Huger, Magruder or Longstreet, has been received.

Would it not be well for you to see Genl. Cooper and afterwards communicate to me your views in relation to this last request?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. H. S. Taylor.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Office of the President of the C. S.
June 19, 1862

Walter H. S. Taylor, Esq., 2nd Auditor of the C. States hereby has permission to visit his wounded son at the Hospital, Charlottesville, Va., for a few days, and Albert Ellery, Esq., Chief Clerk of the Office is hereby appointed Actg. Second Auditor until Mr. Taylor's return to his duties.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS
President C. States.

Jefferson Davis to General Braxton Bragg, Tupelo, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 20, 1862

Your despatch informing me that General Beauregard had turned over the command to you and left for Mobile on surgeon's certificate was duly received. You are assigned permanently to the command of the Department, as will be more formally notified to you by the Secretary of War. You will correspond directly and receive orders and instructions from the Government in relation to your future operations.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va., June 21, 1862.

. . . We are preparing and taking position for the struggle which must be near at hand. The stake is too high to permit

[1] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 213-214.

the pulse to keep its even beat, but our troops are in improved condition and are confident as I am hopeful of success. A total defeat of McClellan will relieve the Confederacy of its embarrassments in the East, and then we must make a desperate effort to regain what Beauregard has abandoned in the West.

Richmond, June 23, 1862.

You will no doubt hear many rumors as even here the air is full of them. Be not disturbed, we are better prepared now than we were on the first of the month and with God's blessing will beat the enemy as soon as we can get at him.

. . . I am nearly well again. The heat and dust are very oppressive. The wagon-trains move along in a cloud which quite conceals everything except the leading team; this of course refers to the roads near to our main encampments. Gen. G. W. Smith after the manner of Beauregard has taken a surgeons certificate and is about to retire for a season to recruit his health. Gen. J. E. Johnston is steadily and rapidly improving. I wish he were able to take the field. Despite the critics who know military affairs by instinct he is a good soldier, never brags of what he did do, and could at this time, render most valuable service.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. G. Swan, M. C. and Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 21, 1862.

Gentlemen:

Your letters of the 16th inst. in relation to the condition of things in East Tennessee have been received and have been attentively considered.

The disastrous contingency to which you refer and the consequences which would result from it have not been overlooked, and I still hope that it may be averted. Every effort has been made to strengthen the command of General Smith. Col. Beauregard was requested to send back the regiments which were sent to him by General Smith; but he failed to comply with the request, stating that he could not spare a man. All the troops which could be spared from other quarters have, however, been sent forward to General Smith, in whose skill and judgment I have the utmost confidence.

By an energetic and prompt use of your influence among your people to induce as many as possible to take the field in aid of the force which is now defending your State, you can contribute most efficiently to that defence, and render most valuable service to the cause. I entertain no doubt that you will use your best exertions to that end, and I have strong hope that they will be attended with success.

General Bragg has succeeded Genl. Beauregard who left the command for the benefit of his health. If it should be in his power to aid Genl. Smith he will not fail to do so; but I fear there is little hope of that.

Very respectfully & truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 24, 1862

Your letter of 11th received. Your request for arms and buckshot had been complied with to the extent of our power.
Have just received some long range rifles from which a further supply will be sent.
Buckshot might be supplied from Columbus to be made if not on hand.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 24, 1862.

Delayed action for letter from Genl. Cooper; none received.
Your despatch of yesterday received.
Have sent for Genl. Huger.
Expect him in a few hours.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 24, 1862

Your telegrams of 22d and 23rd received.
Had previously sent to your command the small arms disposable here.
The commander of the Arkansas has been ordered to report to you. Much will depend upon your artillery. The foundry can I suppose supply you with the improved form of shot and shell. I will endeavor to send some more long range rifles for sharpshooters.
The people will sustain you in your heroic determination, and may God bless us with success.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. K. Smith, Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1862

Brig. Genl. Heth has been ordered to report to you for duty at Chattanooga and I hope is en route. I esteem him very highly and am sure he will meet your requirements.
Reinforcements to a larger extent than the number named by you have been ordered to C. and I will endeavor still further to increase your command.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 25, 1862

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 2d inst. has been received and the points presented for my attention carefully considered.

Some delay has unavoidably occurred in the assignment of an

officer to the command of the trans-Mississippi Dept., but the Genl. who has been heretofore named to you in this connection is soon to assume the charge, and his presence will, I trust, fulfil the more important of the requirements to which you allude. He will have authority to act, in accordance with the provisions of the law, in organizing bodies of partisan rangers. Those which have been already brought into service by yourself, in consequence of the pressing emergency, can be regularly embodied in the Confederate service.

In all parts of the country there is at present a scarcity of arms. A copy of your letter has, however, been furnished to the War Dept. and such arms as can be sent will from time to time be furnished. The attention of the Dept. will also be given to your request for ammunition, tents, camp equipage.

The disaffection to which you allude will, I trust, prove to be very limited in extent. The commdg. Genl. will be authorized to adopt appropriate measures for its suppression.

With respect to conscripts, the law of Congress does not allow new Regts. to be formed from their number. They will however be assembled in camps of instruction, as heretofore agreed upon. They will be disciplined, drilled, and formed into a temporary organization, which may be available, to some extent, for purposes of defence. It is my intention, as soon as circumstances will permit, to send the now greatly reduced Regts. of La. to be filled up from these camps, and thus furnish upon the spot completely organized Corps ready for service. In the meantime I trust that the new Commandg. Genl., with your assistance, and the co-operation of the patriotic citizens of Louisiana will be able to keep the enemy in check, and afford protection to the greater portion of the State, until we shall be able to drive the invader altogether from the soil.

Very respectfully your obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Unofficial & private.

Executive Department,
Austin, Texas, June 27th 1862

Sir,

I on yesterday had the pleasure of meeting with Maj. Guy M. Bryan, Aid to Genl. Hebart, and had much conversation

with him in regard to the prospect as well as the present, condition of things, and more particularly of matters West of the Mississippi. I also was much gratified at receiving a letter from my friend Judge P. W. Gray, M. C.

Let me assure your Excellency, that I am truly happy to learn of your improved health, and I am truly gratified to learn you feel confident, with the aid of God, of our entire ability to secure our independence. I have never for one moment doubted such a result.

Let me assure you that you need give yourself no uneasiness in regard to the most ill-timed and mischievous proclamation issued by Gov. Rector. It fell still-born from the press—meets with no response in the bosom of any patriot. My friend Judge Gray did me but simple justice when he assured you that I would be found, together with the people of Texas, true and firm in the support of the Southern Confederacy.

This is no time for bickerings, heart-burnings, and divisions among a people struggling for existence as a free Government.

I can but doubt a man's disinterestedness & patriotism, when I see him allow his personal interests and feelings to come between him and his Country's liberties.

I trust in a short time to meet Gov. Moore of La. & probably will also meet Gov^{s} Rector & Jackson: should I succeed in doing so, Maj. Bryan has kindly consented to visit Richmond and lay the result of our conclusions before you.

We will then endeavour to give you a true account of how matters stand West of the Miss. I am pleased to know you have established a Department West. Give us a good, substantial, energetic & brave commander, with *funds* (Confederate Treasury notes) to meet expenses, & we can furnish an army of from 30 to 50,000 as good men as there are within the limits of the Confederacy.

I have given a letter of Introduction to Col. Cha^{s}. De Morse. I meant all I said in the letter & trust you may be enabled to grant this request.

He, as Editor of the Clarksville Standard, a Paper established by him many years ago, utterly demolished Rector's Proclamation.

If Gov. Rector is wrong when I see him, I shall endeavour to get him right.

Gov. Moore, I am satisfied, is a patriot and will stand square up.

You can rely on my fealty & devotion to the cause of the *entire* South. I enlisted many years ago for the war when it should

come and all of my connections, thank God, did the same thing. I have lost some of my dearest kindred and friends already,—expect to lose more. The only boy I have raised is a private in the (word illegible) Reg't, and has been in the service over one year; all of these things only tend to make me more determined to lend all of my energies, money and finally life itself, rather than succumb to a foe so base and vile.

Trusting this letter will find you in good health, surrounded with good (word illegible), and that you may be long spared to your family and Country,

I have the honor to subscribe myself

Your friend
F. R. Lubbock

To His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President, &c.

Note.—The above letter was omitted to be copied in its proper place: it is now written by me, & inserted accordingly.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 5, 1862

General:

I have this moment received yours of yesterday with sketch of the position occupied by the enemy near to the mouth of Herring Creek. It is a hard necessity to be compelled to allow him time to recover from his discomfiture and to receive reinforcements, but under the circumstances it must be regarded as necessary. I fully concur with you as to the impropriety of exposing our brave and battle-thinned troops to the fire of the gunboats while attacking a force numerically superior and having the advantage of so strong a position as that held by the enemy.

If further reconnoissance should show ground to the north of the Charles City road which commands the ridge on which that road is located, we might send to you at least the two heavy guns which are on travelling carriages so as to enable you to open fire on the enemies' batteries from a point beyond the effective range of his Navy guns, or if a diversion by engaging the gunboats from the South side of James River would afford

you an opportunity to attack the enemy in his present position, that might be effected by sending some of Holmes' batteries to open fire on the first passing vessel at a point below Herring Creek, so as to draw the fleet into that direction. To do this effectually would require powerful batteries with strong supports.

General Holmes, whom I saw last night at his Hd. Qrs. below Drewry's, expressed a wish to go down on the South side of James River and open fire on the enemy's encampment. His experience on the Potomac has perhaps led him to underrate gunboats. He has ordered Genl. Martin to join him with two Regts. from Kingston, and spoke of drawing one Regt. from Wilmington.

The Sec. of War has called for men to fill up vacancies in the ranks of your army and every effort will be made to send them forward. The Q.M.Genl. assures me that all practicable means are employed to repair the R. roads, especially the Va. Central. My office work fell behind while I was in the field but no *public* interest, I hope, was seriously affected.

I will direct Colonel Gorgas to send to you some burning shells with the hope that you can use them against the enemy's encampments and perhaps his boats, or in the event of night operations they may serve to guide as well as to conceal your advance.

If there should be anything which you think would be more promptly or certainly executed by my personal attention you must not hesitate to ask for it. Before closing I will renew my caution to you against personal exposure either in battle or reconnoissance. It is a duty to the cause we serve for the sake of which I reiterate this warning. Colonel Custis Lee is *much* better.

Very respectfully & truly yr. friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.[1]

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, July 6, 1862.

. . . Had all the order been well and promptly executed there would have been a general dispersion (of McClellan's Army) and the remnant which might have been held together could only have reached the James River by first crossing the Chicka-

[1] Printed in Jefferson Davis, by Mrs. Davis, pp. 322-324.

hominy. Our success has been so remarkable that we should be grateful and believe that even our disappointments were ordered for our gain. McClellan certainly showed capacity in his retreat but there is little cause to laud a general who is driven out of his entrenchments by a smaller and worse armed force than his own and compelled to abandon a campaign in the preparation of which he had spent many months and many millions of dollars and seek safety by flying to other troops for cover, burning his depots of provisions and marking his route by scattered arms, ammunition and wagons. The reinforcements sent to him may advance. His army would never have fought us again if we had been left to an even handed settlement of the issue which he made and we joined.

It is reported that all their forces now available are to be sent to James River and one great effort is to be made to defeat us here. Our army is greatly reduced but I hope recruits will be promptly sent forward from most of the States and there are many causes which will interfere with the execution of the enemy's plans, and some things they have not dreamed which we may do. If our ranks were full we could end the war in a few weeks. There is reason to believe that the Yankees have gained from England and France as the last extension, this month, and expect foreign intervention if we hold them at bay on the first of August. My great grief at the loss of the "Virginia" is renewed and redoubled by our want of her now in the James River. The timber for the completion of the Richmond was burned at Norfolk and the work on her has been thus greatly delayed. It is uncertain when she will be finished. The batteries on the river eight miles below here, will stop the gunboats and we must intercept and defeat any land force which attempts to take them from the land side. Our troubles you perceive have not ended but our chances have improved so I repeat be of good cheer.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 9, 1862

The arms were sent by special agents in each case, viz.: to you at Jackson say eight hundred muskets and two hundred rifles, to Genl. at Vicksburg two thousand muskets and fifteen hundred

rifles. A small lot of rifles, say five hundred about to leave for Port Gibson.
Have been unable to obtain the copper wire, which I had hoped to find in Georgia.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jos. E. Brown, Atlanta, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 10, 1862

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of 21st ult., and would have contented myself with the simple acknowledgment of its receipt but for one or two matters contained in it which seem to require distinct reply.

I deemed it my duty to state my views in relation to the constitutionality of the conscript law for the reasons mentioned in my letter to you, but it was no part of my intention to enter into a protracted discussion. It was convenient to send my views to others than yourself, and for this purpose I caused my letter, together with yours, to be printed in pamphlet form. I am not aware of having omitted any part of your observations, nor did I anticipate any further correspondence on the subject. I supposed you had fully stated your views as I had stated mine, and no practical benefit could be obtained by further discussion.

It is due however to myself to disclaim in the most pointed manner a doctrine which you have been pleased to attribute to me, and against which you indulge in lengthened argument. Neither in my letter to you, nor in any sentiment ever expressed by me can there be found just cause to impute to me the belief that Congress is the final judge of the constitutionality of a contested power.

I said in my letter that "when a specific power is granted, Congress is the judge whether the law passed for the purpose of executing that power is necessary and proper."

I never asserted nor intended to assert that after the passage of such law it might not be declared unconstitutional by the Courts, on complaint made by an individual; nor that the judgment of Congress was conclusive against a State, as supposed by you; nor that all the co-ordinate branches of the general government could together finally decide a question of the reserved rights of a State. The right of each State to judge in the last resort whether its reserved powers had been usurped

by the general government is too familiar and well settled a principle to admit of discussion.

As I cannot see however, after the most respectful consideration of all that you have said, anything to change my conviction that Congress has exercised only a plainly granted specific power in raising its armies by conscription, I cannot share the alarm and concern about State rights which you so evidently feel, but which to me seem quite unfounded.

I am Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. J. F. Marshall,[1] *S. Car. Voltrs.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 11, 1862

My dear Colonel:

Accept my thanks for the very kind terms in which you expressed your congratulations for the recent success of the Confederate arms in the series of battles in which you bore so honorable a part. With sincere regret I learn that you are confined by disease, and very earnestly hope for your speedy restoration to health.

Your view as to our present policy coincides in its main features with my own. Indeed, such has been my purpose for many months, and I have silently borne criticism on the supposition that I was opposed to offensive war, because to correct the error would have required the disclosure of facts which the public interest demanded should not be revealed.

We are now endeavoring, with all possible despatch, to reform and recruit our scattered and shattered forces. Reinforcements are expected; recruits are supposed to be on the way from some of the States, and many who were slightly indisposed will probably soon return to duty.

Your figures show that you are not aware of the extent to which our force "present for duty" was reduced: if we could detach the number mentioned and leave a sufficient corps of observation to hold the enemy in check, you are no doubt right as to the effect of the movement. The General is fully alive to the advantage of the present opportunity, and will, I am sure, cordially sustain and boldly execute my wishes to the full extent of his power.

Very respectfully & truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] J. Foster Marshall; colonel First Carolina Rifles C. S. A.

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. French, or officer in command at Wilmington, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 13, 1862

Say to Genl. Magruder, who will probably pass through Wilmington this evening, that circumstances render it necessary for him to return directly to this place.
Telegraph, after train has arrived, whether message has been delivered to General M. If he has left Wilmington, try to send this message to intercept him, and telegraph result.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Earl Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

"Telegram"

Richmond, July 13, 1862

Your despatch of yesterday received. Your gallantry has fulfilled my expectations. Accept my thanks and congratulations for what has been achieved.
Have ordered more and heavier guns to be furnished to you.
What of the gunboat Arkansas?
The junction of the Departments were from no want of confidence, but to render the whole force most available to the paramount object, the defence of our country.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Chattanooga, Tenn., Dec. 15, 1862.

. . . We had a pleasant trip and without an incident to relate reached this place on the 11th, went to Murfreesboro on the 12th, staid there the 13th, returned to this place yesterday, and leave today for Mississippi. The troops at Murfreesboro were

in fine spirits and well supplied. The enemy keep close in lines about Nashville which place is too strongly fortified and garrisoned for attack by troops unprepared for regular approaches on fortifications. Much confidence was expressed in our ability to beat them if they advance. . . . Last night on my arrival here a telegram announced the attack made at Fredericksburg. You can imagine my anxiety. No answer to my inquiry for further information has yet arrived. If the necessity demands I will return to Richmond though already there are indications of a strong desire for me to visit the further West expressed in terms which render me unwilling to disappoint the expectation. . . .

Gen. Johnston will go directly to Mississippi and reinforce Gen. Pemberton. I saw Mr. Clay who gives us discouraging account of the feeling of the people about Huntsville. He says the fear of the traitors is so great lest they should in the event of a return of the Yankees bring down vengeance on the true men that our friends look round to see who is in ear shot before speaking of public affairs. . . . Joe[1] was quite excited at hearing of active operations behind us and spoke of returning to his Brigade. Many of the officers inquired for Col. Johnston and felt as I did, regretted his absence.

Jefferson Davis to Col. Chestnut,[2] Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 17, 1862

General H. is not to be sent.
General S. reports himself still unfit for duty and I have not selected another, not knowing whether S. will be available in time.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Genl. Joseph R. Davis.

[2] Chestnut, James (1815-1885), an American soldier and political leader, was born at Camden, S. C., January 18, 1815, and was graduated from Princeton college in 1834. He was a member of the State House of Representatives, 1842-1852; a member of the State Senate, 1854-1858; U. S. Senator from December 3, 1858, to November 10, 1860. He was a delegate to the provisional Congress of the Confederate States; was commissioned a colonel in the Confederate army and acted as aide-de-camp on the staff of Jefferson Davis in 1861; was made a brigadier-general in 1864; and was a member of the National Democratic convention in 1868. He died in Camden, S. C., February 1, 1885.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. O. Moore, Opelousas via Woodville, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 21, 1862

Despatches sent to you via Camp Moore, and more recently via Jackson.
General Holmes is en route as commander of trans-Mississippi Department.
General Bragg cannot now spare General Price's troops.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General Braxton Bragg, Tupelo, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 21, 1862

Your despatch about Selma & Meridian Railroad referred. Agent was here and received money. Is probably by this time at Selma.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 22, 1862

Capt. Brown of the Arkansas requires boatmen and reports himself doomed to inactivity by the inability to get them.
We have a large class of iron boatmen and some ordinary seamen on our Gulf Coast, who must be now unemployed. Can you not help Captain Brown to get an adequate crew?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Fraser & Co., Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 22, 1862

Gentlemen:

I have just learned that a horse of mine,—an Arabian of great value, has arrived at Napan from Europe during the past month, and is now there awaiting transportation to this country.

Believing that he will be much injured if long detained at Napan, I am induced to apply to you to lend me your aid in getting him over by the first favorable opportunity. I would not for many times the value of the horse that he should fall into the hands of the Yankees.

Very respectfully yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. W. Mercer,[1] *Savannah, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 25, 1862

The law to which you were referred confers the power for a specific purpose.

Your attention was called to it because your telegram indicated that you asked the exercise of the power for a different purpose.

Your answer did not remove the impression, and the Secretary of War submitted the question as it stood to the Attorney General, whose response has not been received.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Mercer, Hugh Weedon (1808-1877), an American soldier, was born in Virginia in 1808, and graduated from West Point in 1828. He resigned from the army, April 30, 1835, and removed to Savannah, Ga. When Georgia seceded he entered the military service of the Confederate army as colonel of the first Georgia Volunteer Infantry; was made a brigadier-general October 29, 1861; was in command of Savannah during the greater part of the war; and took part in the fighting around Marietta and Kenesaw Mountain. General Mercer's health failed him during the Tennessee campaign to the extent that he was relieved from active duty and sent back to Savannah. He died in Baden Baden, Bavaria, June 9, 1877.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Braxton Bragg, Mobile, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 26, 1862

The confidence felt in Genl. Forney at Mobile and the knowledge he has acquired as the successor of Genl. Jones render the propriety of withdrawing him very doubtful.
Please reconsider your purpose in that regard. There are other reasons which I would communicate if time permitted me to do so by mail.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Mobile, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 26, 1862

Adjt. Genl. informs me that he has written to you at Tupelo in relation to additional Generals, pointing out limitation of authority in laws.
Have you received the letter?
I wish to aid and sustain you in every practicable manner—only Generals for Brigades and Divisions can be appointed by me as legally authorized.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore, Opelousas, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 26, 1862

I have sent you several telegrams. One informed you of others sent before.
General Holmes has gone to Trans-Mississippi Dept.
Genl. Blanchard left some time since for Monroe.

Due efforts have been made to secure the delivery of arms.
General Taylor will go to Opelousas.
Refer you to him for full information.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Thomas Randall, Tallahassee, Florida.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., July 26, 1862

My dear Sir:

I have received and attentively considered your letter of the 18th inst. with its enclosed memoir and propose to confer with Genl. Lee, in regard to its contents, before referring the matter to the Engineer Bureau.

With respect to the defences upon James River, the topography and the positions of the opposing forces do not favor the application of your suggested plan. Most of the enemy's force is encamped upon low ground, and the points upon the river bank, where our batteries are stationed, are high bluffs that command the channel to such an extent as to render artificial elevation unnecessary. The defensive points upon the Potomac, Mississippi and Alabama rivers are of a similar character.

For seacoast batteries upon a low beach, and other positions, where there is little natural command, works of the character you propose might subserve an excellent purpose. Where this is found to be the case, the Government will gladly avail itself of the results of your experience and reflection.

Thanking you for the suggestion and the trouble you have taken in forwarding them to me, I remain

Very respectfully yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. D. H. Hill, Petersburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 27, 1862

Report has reached me that Burnside has passed through Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal towards the eastern coast of North Carolina, though it seems improbable, it was thought well to send it to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. Marshall, Abingdon, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 27, 1862

Your letter received. Move and be governed by circumstances. Your wishes are noted, and will be complied with as far as practicable, but let your operations depend upon what is before you and with you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department,
State of Texas, July 28th 1862

To His Excellency,
Jefferson Davis
President, &c
Richmond,

Respected Sir:

This will be handed you by Col. Guy M. Bryan, who bears to you from the Executives of Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, and Texas, a Letter venturing to make certain suggestions as to the necessities of the Country West of the Mississippi, and urging upon you the propriety of adopting certain measures for the welfare of the Confederacy and for the safety of the States West of the Mississippi.

I trust, my Dear Sir, you will give to that letter your favorable consideration, and speedily inaugurate such policy as you may deem best calculated to meet the present emergency.

I pledge to you the devotion of our people to the great cause in which we are engaged, and rest satisfied you will find me at all times aiding you and those in authority in sustaining the integrity of the Confederacy.

Col. Bryan can explain to you much more fully than I can write, the situation of the Country, and the great importance of acting at once in the premises.

I trust he will have your ear, and that his Suggestions will be favorably received and acted upon by you.

I have the honor to be
Yours Very respectfully
F. R. LUBBOCK

P.S. I also send you the copy of an address to the people signed by the Governors.

F. R. L.

Note. The above letter was written at Marshall, Texas, and there delivered to Col. Guy M. Bryan.

F. R. Lubbock and others to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

(July 28, 1862)

Sir,

The isolated condition of the States West of the Miss: River, since the fall of New Orleans, and the virtual possession of that River by the enemy rendered it proper that the several executives of those States should confer together freely and fully as to their wants and necessities, and the best means for their protection and defense.

We have had such conference in person and by letter, and now propose to lay before you briefly the result of the same.

It is not our purpose to attempt, in any manner, to prescribe to the Confederate authorities the line of policy to be pursued, but having superior opportunities for observation, a more intimate acquaintance with the wants and necessities of the States West of the Mississippi, and above all the most vital interests at stake, we feel less hesitation in making the few suggestions that follow.

In making these suggestions, we feel well assured that, all you desire is to obtain accurate information as to the wants of this Section, and that, when those wants are ascertained, that it is your desire and purpose to relieve those wants, and to contribute in every manner you can to their defense.

The events of the past three months have clearly disclosed that, to properly defend these States West of the River, three things are absolutely indispensable—without them we cannot use our strength, nor fully develop the mighty power of resistance that is in our midst.

First—We should have a Commanding General, having territorial jurisdiction over all the States West of the Mississippi River.

Second—We must have money for the support of the Army.

Third—We must have arms, and also ammunition, if it can be spared, but arms we are compelled to have.

As to first: The General sent should be eminently gifted with

administrative ability:—he must be a man of system who will be able to organize and train into efficiency, and convert into an Army, the brave troops we have already and will continue to furnish.

He should be a man of sound judgment, a man prompt in action—we are far from the War Department, and there must be no doubting, no vacillation or hesitation, in its Chief Representative here—he must be clothed too, with very large discretionary powers, and above all, with full authority to purchase or manufacture all the munitions of war, and fully to develop all the warlike resources of the Country.

2d We need money here to sustain in the field the Army West of the Mississippi River, without it we can do nothing. It is difficult, almost impossible for us to obtain funds from Richmond, and some means should be devised for furnishing money to the Army West of the Mississippi River, not only for its present wants but also for its future necessities. We would suggest that a Branch of the Treasury be established West of the Mississippi, and the Bills be there issued as needed: this is the safest, the least expensive, and, in fact, the only method of keeping this Department in funds.

The method pursued, since the loss of the Mississippi, of sending special Messengers to Richmond for money, has not only been attended with great risk and expense, but the transportation of such messengers, if the system should be continued, will cost the Government more than the establishment and support of a Branch of the Treasury Department. We do not deem it necessary to enlarge on the absolute necessity of a measure when it seems so obvious.

Our soldiers are without their pay, and, in some instances dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction has been carried so far in some cases as to amount to mutiny. The Government has contracted heavy debts, and is daily contracting more. In order that the faith of the people and of the soldiers in the Government may not be shaken, it should provide means for the speedy payment of its soldiers and its creditors. If there is no power under present Legislation to establish such a Branch of the Treasury, then we would suggest that the attention of the Congress, soon to meet, be called at once to the matter, so that this want may be remedied.

Furthermore, there is a present most distressing want of small arms on this side of the River. There are at this time many Regiments and organized bodies of soldiers West of the Mississippi River, who have been idle in Camp at an enormous expense

to the Government for six months past, and all for the want of arms. If twenty or thirty thousand stand of small arms could be sent across the River, we feel satisfied that in two months after their arrival, we would have an army of fifty thousand men in the field and are sanguine that, with an abundance of funds, and an able Commander, the number could be increased even beyond that amount.

We can assure you that it is the fixed and unalterable purpose of the States of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, and the brave and loyal sons of Missouri whose hearts are in our cause, to sustain with all their power the Confederate Government, and at all hazards to offer a stubborn resistance to the enemy at every point. All that we desire is that you send us a cool and able head to direct our military operations, provide the funds necessary to support the Army, and the arms to put into the hands of our citizens, and then we will endeavour to deal with the enemy on this side of the River as successfully as you have done upon the James and the Chickahominy.

To
His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President of The
Confederate States
of America
Richmond, Va.

Note. The above letter was signed at Marshall, Texas, on the 28th Day of July 1862, by Governors Jackson of Missouri and Lubbock of Texas; and Major Guy M. Bryan dispatched to procure the signatures thereto of Governors Rector of Arkansas and Moore of Louisiana, and convey the same to the President of the Confederate States at Richmond, Va.

Jefferson Davis to Governor Harris,[1] *Tennessee.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 29, 1862

Sir:

Your letter of the 12th inst. to the Secretary of War suggesting the expediency of sending to General Kirby Smith's com-

[1] Harris, Isham Green (1818-1897), an American political leader, was born near Tullahoma, Tenn., February 10, 1818; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He was a member of the Tennessee Senate in 1847-1848; a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1853; Governor of Tennessee from 1857 to

mand the three Tennessee regiments now in Va. has been referred to me.

You are aware that these are the only Tennessee regts. left in the army now struggling in defence of the Confederate capital, and were I to consent to your proposition your State would be deprived of her share in the glory to be derived from that achievement.

I am unwilling, therefore, to detach them from the army in Virginia; but I fully concur with you as to the importance of recruiting their now thinned ranks. I think that by sending him efficient officers from each regiment to collect recruits, their exertions with your efficient aid will prove speedily successful. To make up a full brigade a fourth regiment is necessary. If this can be forwarded, I shall be glad of it; but in any event consent to appoint to command the Tennessee regiments the officer whom you designate and so highly recommend, and whose influence may contribute advantageously to the formation of the proposed command of four regiments, or, at least, to the recruitment of the three. Very respectfully & truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. J. Pillow,[1] *Oxford, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 31, 1862

Your despatch received. With regret I learn the wholesale devastation and robbery which you report. The Government

March, 1862, when he was forced to flee from Tennessee on account of the occupation of Nashville by the Federal troops. Harris afterwards joined the Confederate army and acted as aide to General A. S. Johnston, who died in his arms at the battle of Shiloh; he also acted as aide to other Confederate generals in command of the Army of the West. After the war he lived first in Mexico and then in England but returned to the United States in 1867. He was a Senator from March 4, 1877, until his death in Washington, D. C., July 8, 1897.

[1] Pillow, Gideon Johnson (1806-1878), an American lawyer and soldier, was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, June 8, 1806; was graduated from the University of Nashville in 1827; and was admitted to the bar in 1828. He was commissioned brigadier-general, July 13, 1846, and placed in charge of the Tennessee volunteers in the Mexican War; commanded the right wing of Scott's army at Cerro Gordo, where he was severely wounded; was promoted to the rank of major general in 1847, and participated in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec. He was charged with insubordination by General Scott but was acquitted of these charges. He opposed secession until the outbreak of the Civil War; was appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army July

will continue to exert its whole power to protect the citizens of the Confederacy and I hope due punishment may speedily fall on the felons you describe.

Genl. Holmes left some time since for Arkansas.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Hiram Roberts[1] *and others, Savannah, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 31, 1862

Gentlemen:

Your communication of the 22d inst. has been received, and referred to the Navy Department for information.

The iron seized by that Department was taken for the completion of gunboats. The whole amount will be insufficient for the boats intended for the defence of Savannah alone, and it will be necessary to seek elsewhere for the requisite balance of material.

Land defences can be built without iron, but it is indispensable for plated boats, and further than this it is hoped that the boats when completed will be able to prevent the enemy from conducting land operations that would endanger the safety of the city.

Under the circumstances it appears to me that the safety of Savannah is best ensured by using the iron as at present intended by the Navy Department.

Respectfully yr. obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding etc.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., July 31, 1862

Sir:

On the 22nd of this month a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners of war was signed between Major General D. H. Hill

9, 1861; was in command against General Grant in the battle of Belmont, November 7, 1861; and was second in command under General Floyd at Fort Donelson. He and Floyd both escaped the night before the surrender of Fort Donelson by General Buckner; he subsequently served under General Beauregard and acted as chief of conscripts in the Western Department. He died in Lee County, Arkansas, October 6, 1878.

[1] A resident of Savannah, with large railway and banking interests.

in behalf of the Confederate States, and Major Genl. John A. Dix in behalf of the United States.

By the terms of that cartel it is stipulated that all prisoners of war hereafter taken shall be discharged on parole till exchanged.

Scarcely had that cartel been signed, when the military authorities of the United States commenced a practice changing the character of the war, from such as becomes civilized nations into a campaign of indiscriminate robbery and murder.

The general order issued by the Secretary of War of the U. S. in the city of Washington, on the very day that the cartel was signed in Virginia, directs the military commanders of the United States to take the private property of our people for the convenience and use of their armies without compensation.

The general order issued by Major General Pope on the 23rd of July, the day after the signing of the cartel, directs the murder of our peaceful inhabitants as spies if found quietly tilling their farms in his rear, *even outside of his lines;* and one of his Brigadier Generals, Steinwehr, has seized upon innocent and peaceful inhabitants, to be held as hostages, to the end that they may be murdered in cold blood, if any of his soldiers are killed by some unknown persons whom he designates as "bushwhackers."

Under this state of facts, this Government has issued the enclosed general order recognizing General Pope and his commissioned officers to be in the position which they have chosen for themselves, that of robbers and murderers, and not that of public enemies entitled if captured to be considered as prisoners of war.

We find ourselves driven by our enemies by steady progress towards a practice which we abhor and which we are vainly struggling to avoid. Some of the military authorities of the United States seem to suppose that better success will attend a savage war in which no quarter is to be given and no sex to be spared, than has hitherto been secured by such hostilities as are alone recognized to be lawful by civilized men in modern times.

For the present we renounce our right of retaliation on the innocent, and shall continue to treat the private enlisted soldiers of Genl. Pope's army as prisoners of war, but, if after notice to the Government at Washington of our confining repressive measures to the punishment only of commissioned officers who are willing participants in these crimes, these savage practices are continued, we shall reluctantly be forced to the last resort of accepting the war on the terms chosen by our foes, until the out-

raged voice of a common humanity forces a respect for the recognized rules of war.

While these facts would justify our refusal to execute the generous cartel by which we have consented to liberate an excess of thousands of prisoners held by us beyond the number held by the enemy, a sacred regard to plighted faith, shrinking from the mere semblance of breaking a promise, prevents our resort to this extremity. Nor do we desire to extend to any other forces of the enemy the punishment merited alone by Genl. Pope and such commissioned officers as choose to participate in the execution of his infamous orders.

You are therefore instructed to communicate to the Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States the contents of this letter and a copy of the enclosed general order, to the end that he may be notified of our intention not to consider any officers hereafter captured from Genl. Pope's army as prisoners of war. Very respectfully your etc.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, commanding etc.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Aug. 1, 1862

Sir:

On the 29th June last, you were instructed by the Secretary of War to make inquiries of the General in command of the U. S. forces relative to alleged murders committed on our citizens by officers of the U. S. Army; and the cases of Wm. B. Mumford reported to have been murdered at New Orleans by order of Major Genl. B. F. Butler, and Col. Jno. Owen reported to have been murdered in the same manner in Missouri by order of Major Genl. Pope, were specially referred to.

The enquiries thus made by you of Major Genl. McLellan were referred by that officer to his government for reply, but no answer has yet been received.

We have since been credibly informed that numerous other officers of the armies of the United States have within the Confederacy been guilty of felonies and capital offences which are punishable by all law human and divine. A few of those best authenticated are brought to your notice.

The newspapers received from the enemies' country announce as a fact that Major Genl. Hunter has armed slaves for the murder of their masters and has thus done all in his power to inaugu-

rate a servile war, which is worse than that of the savage, inasmuch as it supersedes other horrors to the indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

Brig. Genl. Phelps is reported to have imitated at New Orleans the example set by Genl. Hunter on the coast of South Carolina.

Brig. Genl. G. N. Fitch is stated in the same journals to have murdered in cold blood two peaceful citizens, because one of his men while invading our country was killed by some unknown person defending his home.

You are now instructed to repeat your inquiry relative to the cases of Mumford and Owen, and further to ask of the commanding Genl. of the enemy whether the statements in relation to the action of Generals Hunter, Phelps, and Fitch are admitted to be true, and whether the conduct of those Generals is sanctioned by their Government.

You will further give notice that in the event of our failure to receive a reply to these inquiries within fifteen days from the delivery of your letter, we shall assume that the alleged facts are true and are sanctioned by the government of the United States.

In such event, on that government will rest the responsibility of the retributive or retaliatory measures which we shall adopt to put an end to the merciless atrocities which now characterise the war waged against us.

Very respectfully yours etc.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. etc.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Aug. 2, 1862

Genl.:

In reply to your note of this date I would state that, having entire confidence in your experience and knowledge of the best method of conducting a correspondence relating to military matters, I leave it to your judgment to decide upon the mode of forwarding the communications in question. It was my intention that copies of the letters enclosed to you should be embodied in your own letter to the Federal Government, but if you think it better to modify the arrangement, I will be glad to have you do so. Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Clark, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Aug. 2, 1862

My dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 31st ult., and to thank you for your good offices in the matter of enrolling men to fill up the regiments of No. Car. now in the field. The irregularities and negligences noted in the camp near to you exceed even the allowances I have been accustomed to make for inexperience. In appointing an officer to take charge of a camp of instruction, it was not my purpose to interfere through his agency or otherwise with the enrollment by the State officers of those subject to military service in the armies of the Confederate States. For every consideration, it was desirable to avail of the aid of the Executives of the States, and, where, as in your case, it was freely given, I wished it to be received with every mark of consideration and courtesy.

The matter will receive prompt attention and a further reply will be made to you when I am better informed of the action of the War Dept. In the meantime, I have wished to assure you of regret that anything should have occurred which evinced the least neglect of that which I recognize as due to you, not only in virtue of your office, but also because of your cordial and efficient aid to our efforts to provide for the common defence.

Very respectfully
Your fellow citizen,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(No date, probably August 4, 1862)

Secure the delivery of the following despatch to Genl. Holmes on his way to Arkansas. To Major Genl. Holmes—It has been reported to me that the military authorities in the Dept. to which you have been assigned have usurped powers and displayed needless rigor by declaring martial law, by forcing persons into service not subject to enrolment, by needlessly impressing private property, establishing arbitrary prices for commodities, and

enforcing the discipline of a camp upon towns remote from the enemy and not occupied by troops. You will endeavor to correct these abuses as rapidly as is consistent with the defence of the country. Dr. Lagrue is reported sick. If he can join you, you can have him as a Brigadier General.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Earl Van Dorn, Vicksburgh, Miss.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 4, 1862

The importance of the object at which you aim cannot be overestimated.
I fear General Bragg cannot detach any more of his force.
The Secretary of War will send you an order for the Texas legion. Some heavy artillerists may be sent from here.
Colonel Marigny is en route to Camp Moore with instructions to collect and organise partisans. From the Florida parishes I hope you will get considerable accessions of force.
See General Richard Taylor on his way to Western Louisiana, and General Holmes on his way to trans-Mississippi Department, and confer with them as to their ability to aid you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 4, 1862

Is martial law any longer necessary outside of your encampments, and on the Islands occupied by your forces? If not I would be glad to restore the civil authorities to their uninterrupted functions, except in the places named.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 5, 1862

Dear Sir:

A press of occupations has delayed reply to your letters of the 19th and 29th ult., but their contents have received the care-

ful attention of Genl. Lee and myself. We both concur with you in opinion as to the importance of the preservation of the Charleston and Savannah R. R. It is believed that the Cavalry under Col. Walker, and such Infantry force as is available, will be, as you intimate, sufficient for its protection against the present force of the enemy, and that the troops retained in and near Charleston will be able to hold the harbor and the portion of the road near it. Genl. Lee is of opinion that experience has proved it to be easier to defend a railroad by massing troops at salient and commanding points, to repress the attack of the enemy and strike him if he advances, than to extend the force along the whole line.

With respect to the regiment of Colonel Donovant, their excellent condition and discipline would doubtless have rendered their services very valuable in the operations here, but the designation of the troops to be sent from South Carolina was left to the discretion of the Genl. commanding the Department, and for the reasons given above as making it desirable to have them here, it was probably deemed important that they should not be removed from your coast.

If guns can be procured it will undoubtedly be advisable to re-occupy the batteries for the defense of the Santee. With respect to the re-occupation of Coles and Battery Islands, the opinions of military men are so different, that I should be unwilling, while at a distance from the locality, to decide the question. The matter may be left open for further consideration, or for the decision of a new commander.

Regarding the removal of the present commanding General, I am desirous of obliging you, and would be glad also to secure the services of Genl. Pemberton elsewhere. I have found that it would be easier to relieve him from his present command than to replace him. I have tried to get a competent officer, whose assignment to the position would be satisfactory, and will not relax my efforts to that end. My own confidence, however, in Genl. Pemberton is such that I would be satisfied to have him in any position requiring the presence of an able General.

I established martial law in South Carolina very reluctantly, after being repeatedly importuned to do so. I entirely agree with you that the civil authorities should be restored to their uninterrupted functions as soon as it is possible to do so, and have telegraphed to Genl. Pemberton to inquire if martial law can not now be suspended excepting at military camps and on the islands occupied by troops.

The importance of accumulating labor during the present

season, for completing the defenses of Charleston, can not be over estimated, and I am glad to learn that it has received your attention and assistance. Very respectfully yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General Braxton Bragg.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 5, 1862

General:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge yours of the 31st ulto. and have read the enclosed letter of my Hon. complainant with mingled feelings of pity and scorn. You have properly appreciated, I have no doubt, his motive both in the first and second instance.

As to your supposition in relation to the newspaper slips, it is proper that I should give you some evidence against your belief of complicity of Judge W. His political antecedents would not bring him into association with the paper making the publication, and if he be capable of such an assault, which I do not think, he would have selected a different medium. The paper was sent to me with a marginal pencil note accusing Mr. Yancey as the author of the article headed: "The Army at Tupelo"; I handed the paper to the Judge; he read it, did not appear to have seen it before, did not dissent from the opinion of the marginal annotation, and treated it as a scurvy attack on the Administration.

To preserve the liberty of the press, yet restrain its license, is possible only where it is controlled by a sound taste and sentiment in its patrons. To give information to the enemy is an injury, but little extenuated by an improper anxiety to satisfy the curiosity of its readers; and here it has frequently occurred that we have been materially damaged by articles, when the purpose to keep within the prescribed limits as to publications concerning army movements if not real was at least seeming.

You have the misfortune of being regarded as my personal friend, and are pursued therefore with malignant censure by men regardless of truth and whose want of principle to guide their conduct renders them incapable of conceiving that you are trusted because of your known fitness for command, and not because of friendly regard. Revolutions develop the high qualities of the good and the great, but they cannot change the nature of the vicious and the selfish.

I trust the opportunity will be afforded to you to render the country such service as will compensate you for your long trials and the self-denial with which you have labored to support the cause in which we are enlisted.

In General E. K. Smith you will find one of our ablest and purest officers. He has taken every position without indicating the least tendency to question its advantage to himself, without complaint when his prospects for distinction were remote, and with alacrity when dangers and hardships were to be met. His promotions, like your own, have come unsought, and my assurance is complete that the zeal would not have been less had they never been given. Upon your cordial co-operation I can, therefore, confidently rely.

If, as reported, the railroad has been effectually broken in rear of Buell, it may enable you to fight the enemy in detachments. Buell being crushed, if your means will enable you to march rapidly on Nashville, Grant will be compelled to retire to the river, abandoning Middle and East Tennessee, or to follow you. His Government will probably require the latter course, and if so you may have a complete conquest over the enemy, involving the liberation of Tennessee and Kentucky. We have reports here to the effect that a large force has been transferred from Halleck's army in the West for another attack on Richmond. If so we will endeavor to give them full employment in this quarter, so as to prevent any return to the West.

General R. Taylor seemed to be required for Southwestern Louisiana. If he saw you, he gave you fully my views and hopes in relation to that region. He appreciated the compliment of your request that he should be sent to you as a Division Commander.

General Van Dorn has sent General Breckenridge against Baton Rouge; but reports his command as suffering greatly from the effects of the climate and asks for re-inforcements and acclimated troops. We have none to spare from this Army, but I will endeavor to send, nevertheless, a battalion of Artillerists raised in New Orleans and trained here to the use of heavy guns. The country in East La. and Missi. has been so drained of its population that men cannot be raised there beyond a very limited extent, and until your operations may enable you to relieve the Kentucky troops, I do not see how they can be replaced.

Very truly your friend

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. Marshall, via Dublin, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 6, 1862

The return of Col. Morgan changes the view taken of your position.

As you can not now expect co-operation, it will be necessary to wait for a more propitious opportunity.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Henry T. Clark, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 7, 1862

Dear Sir:

Since my letter of the 2nd inst., the following communication has been sent from the War Department with relation to the camps of Instruction in North Carolina.

{letter of Secretary of War, dated August 5, 1862, follows—This letter is on record in proper place.}

I enclose copies of the printed regulations sent to the commandants of camps of Instruction, and hope you will find, in the action taken, evidence of a desire to co-operate with the State authorities and as far as possible to use the officers of the State in executing the law for an enrolment of a class of its citizens for the military service of the Confederate States.

Very respectfully your fellow citizen,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Atty. Genl. T. J. Wharton, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(No date, probably August 8, 1862.)

Refer me to law. The question is as to the difference between the general law of the State and the ordinance of the convention.

Was the latter applicable to a special case only, viz. The Army to be raised under it?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Jos. D. Van Benthuysen, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 8, 1862

Your application referred to the Commissary Genl. who reports that he has as many Asst. Commissaries as are useful for the service indicated by you. Whereafter wanted your recommendation will be before him.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Albert Pike,[1] *Camp McCulloch, Choctaw Nation.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 9, 1862

General:

Your communication of July 3d is at hand. I regret the necessity of informing you that it is an impropriety for an officer of the army to address the President through a printed circular.

Under the laws for the government of the Army, the publication of this circular was a grave military offence, and if the purpose was to abate an evil, by making an appeal that would be heeded by me, the mode taken was one of the slowest and worst that could have been adopted.

Very respectfully Yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Pike, Albert (1809-1891), an American author, was born in Boston, Mass., December 29, 1809; attended Harvard University, 1825-1826; accompanied an expedition to Sante Fe in 1831; subsequently explored the headwaters of the Red and Brazos rivers; settled at Fort Smith, Ark., in December, 1832; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1835. Pike commanded a squadron in the Mexican War, and fought in the battle of Buena Vista. During the Civil War he was Indian Commissioner of the Confederate Government and subsequently a brigadier-general. After the war he practiced law and engaged in literary work, both prose and poetical. He died at Washington, D. C., April 2, 1891. Consult F. W. Allsopp, The Life Story of Albert Pike, 130 pp., Little Rock, 1920; and W. L. Boyden, Bibliography of the Writings of Albert Pike, 71 pp., Washington, 1921.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph,[1] *Sec. of War.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 9, 1862

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 5th inst. enclosing an opinion of the Attorney General as to the effect of the Act of April 16th, 1862, on persons exempt from enrollment.

After a careful consideration of the opinion it does not appear to me that the construction of the law given by the Atty. Genl. would "shorten the term" of any now in service. The period of ninety days would seem from the language of the law, to have been considered by the Congress as necessary to obtain recruits to supply the places of men who were to be discharged by expiration of term of service and exemption from military conscription.

In the last proviso to the 1st Sec. of the Act it seems to have been contemplated that less time would suffice, and, therefore, provision was made for an earlier discharge in the contingency that their places were sooner supplied; from which it would appear that the intent was to limit the detention beyond the period of enlistment to the shortest space which the public exigency would permit in all cases where the soldier did not belong to the class which was to constitute the army of the Confederate States.

I have said this much not to sustain or combat any particular opinion; but the rather to show how well you might have entertained a doubt as to the true meaning of the law which warranted you in calling upon the Atty. General for an official opinion, and also to sustain me in suggesting to you the propriety of accepting the opinion although your judgment may not be entirely convinced.

[1] Randolph, George Wythe (1819-1878), an American soldier and grandson of Thomas Jefferson, was born at Monticello, Va., March 10, 1818; joined the navy as midshipman when thirteen years of age; attended the University of Virginia, 1837-1839; and resigned from the navy in 1839. He served on the Virginia commission to confer with Lincoln with regard to preserving peace; organized a company of artillery against the John Brown raid to incite the slaves against their masters; was commissioned a brigadier-general and commanded a brigade in Magruder's army, 1861-1862. He was Secretary of War of the Confederate States from March 24, 1862, to November 17, 1862. After his resignation from the office of Secretary of War he again reported for duty in the field. He died at Edge Hill, Va., April 10, 1878.

The opinion of the Law Officer of the Govt., though it cannot bind the conscience of the Head of a Dept., nor, therefore, entirely relieve him from responsibility, may well be relied upon to solve a doubt, and in questionable cases to sanction official action. Comity between the different Depts. indicates the propriety of accepting an opinion on a question of law which has been given by the Atty. Genl. in response to the request of a member of the Cabinet.

I am very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. T. J. Wharton,[1] *Jackson, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 11, 1862

Send me the laws of Mississippi governing military elections. The article in the Mississippian has not been received.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. T. H. Watts,[2] *Atty. Genl., Richmond, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 13, 1862

Sir:

The Secretary of War has submitted to me an opinion of yours, bearing date July 25, in relation to the condition, in the service, of the 17th and 19th Regt. and the Phillips Legion, all Georgia Volunteers.

In reading the opinion, I am impressed with the belief that

[1] Attorney-General of Mississippi, 1857-1865; circuit judge.

[2] Watts, Thomas Hill (1819-1892), eighteenth governor of Alabama, was born in Butler County, Ala., January 3, 1819; graduated from the University of Virginia in 1840, was admitted to the bar and began practising in Greenville, Ala., in 1841. He was a member of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1842-1845, 1849 and 1880-1881; and State Senator in 1853. He was colonel of the 17th Alabama Infantry, 1861-1862; Attorney General in Jefferson Davis's cabinet, 1862-1863; was Governor of Alabama from the fall of 1863 to the end of the War. After the war he devoted himself to the practice of the law. He died at Montgomery, Ala., September 16, 1892. Consult E. B. Culver, Thomas Hill Watts, 25 pp., Montgomery, 1904.

the material facts in these cases were not before you, and I therefore send to you copies of the letters addressed by the Secretary of War to Govr. Brown of Georgia, and a statement of the dates when these regiments were mustered into the Confederate service, in order that you may give me your advice, after a fuller knowledge of the facts, upon the questions discussed in your opinion.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. R. Lubbock, Austin, Texas.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 15, 1862

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 27th June has just reached me. For your words of kindness, friendship, and hope you have my sincere thanks.

The assurances you make of the steadfast loyalty of Texas and her governor to the great interests at stake in our common struggle for independence are fully sustained by the history of the last year. But your remarks are peculiarly gratifying now, coming at a time when disaster to our arms on the lower Mississippi has been followed by discontent and despondency in large parts of the adjacent country.

Every effort has been made to repair the loss of New Orleans and to mitigate the misfortunes which press so heavily on the population of your own and the neighboring States. The well-earned reputation of Major Generals Holmes and R. Taylor leads me to expect the best results from their assignment to the Department of the trans-Mississippi.

At the moment when you wrote a series of victories was signalising our arms in Virginia. In those victories the Texas Regiments bore a most honorable part, and you will allow me to congratulate you as the governor of a State rendered so illustrious by the conduct of her sons. The determination displayed by the Southern troops everywhere gives us assurance of the final expulsion of the enemy from the Gulf States. For yourself please accept renewed expressions of my regard and esteem.

Respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Office.
Richmond, August 16, 1862

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 10th inst. has been received. I have recently had a long interview with Genl. Pemberton, and received a full exposition of his views relative to the defence of the coast of South Carolina. I find that his determination to hold the city of Charleston is as fixed as you could desire it to be, and that the measures he has adopted to that end are in a good state of progress, and promise to be effective. The obstructions to the harbor, so far as completed, have been tested with favorable results, and when finished would seem to be sufficient, in connection with proposed batteries and the Forts, to prevent vessels from entering.

With respect to the questions concerning which there has been a difference of opinion, I have determined, as they are high problems of Engineering, to send, at the earliest possible day, an officer of Engineers in whose experience and knowledge you will, I am sure, confide, to examine and report upon the points at issue. Meanwhile, I have requested Genl. Pemberton to have a conference with yourself and, if it be desired, with the council, in order that he may communicate to you, as he has to me, the defensive arrangements that have been prepared and projected.

With every desire to gratify your wish for a change in the commander of the Department, the matter has been attended with much difficulty.

Genl. G. W. Smith, who was indicated, might have been spared for that command; but his physicians have pronounced that the climate would unfit him in his present state of health for duty on the coast of South Carolina. The General who would fulfil the requirements of the position must be an officer not only experienced in Infantry and Artillery service, but also generally acquainted with Engineering. The education, elementary and practical, of Genl. Pemberton in the old army and our own service has given him this requisite knowledge. I do not now find it practicable to send in his place another General who would equally well answer for the command. He is, besides, thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the Department, and feels an interest in the works that are in progress for its defence which would have to be acquired by a new commander.

I hope, after a conference with Genl. Pemberton, and when you are more fully acquainted with his plans, that you may have the same confidence in his ability and good judgment that has made me willing to entrust him with so important a command, and feel secure that all the aid you may give him will be well and zealously applied to the defence of a harbor of great and increasing value to the Confederacy, and of a city for the successful resistance of which we have a desire heightened by the malignity which makes it the special object of attack and would doom it to destruction.

Very respectfully and truly
Your friend and fellow citizen
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. H. Marshall, via Dublin, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 17, 1862

My telegram of July 27th warned you against reliance on reinforcements to follow you; that of the 6th inst. notified you of the return of the forces which were before you, and that you could not then expect co-operation. If your force was insufficient for the movement what could you do but wait for a more propitious opportunity?

When success is attainable you have not been required to lose the opportunity. Will answer your letter more fully by mail.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President.)

RICHMOND, August 18, 1862.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States.[1]

It is again our fortune to meet for devising measures necessary to the public welfare whilst our country is involved in a desolating war. The sufferings endured by some portions of the people

[1] Second session. Met at Richmond, Va., August 18, 1862. Adjourned October 13, 1862.

excite the deep solicitude of the Government, and the sympathy thus evoked has been heightened by the patriotic devotion with which these sufferings have been borne. The gallantry and good conduct of our troops, always claiming the gratitude of the country, have been further illustrated on hard-fought fields, marked by exhibitions of individual prowess which can find but few parallels in ancient or modern history. Our Army has not faltered in any of the various trials to which it has been subjected, and the great body of the people has continued to manifest a zeal and unanimity which not only cheer the battle-stained soldier, but give assurance to the friends of constitutional liberty of our final triumph in the pending struggle against despotic usurpation.

The vast army which threatened the capital of the Confederacy has been defeated and driven from the lines of investment, and the enemy, repeatedly foiled in his efforts for its capture, is now seeking to raise new armies on a scale such as modern history does not record, to effect that subjugation of the South so often proclaimed as on the eve of accomplishment.

The perfidy which disregarded rights secured by compact, the madness which trampled on obligations made sacred by every consideration of honor, have been intensified by the malignity engendered by defeat. These passions have changed the character of the hostilities waged by our enemies, who are becoming daily less regardful of the usages of civilized war and the dictates of humanity. Rapine and wanton destruction of private property, war upon noncombatants, murder of captives, bloody threats to avenge the death of an invading soldiery by the slaughter of unarmed citizens, orders of banishment against peaceful farmers engaged in the cultivation of the soil, are some of the means used by our ruthless invaders to enforce the submission of a free people to foreign sway. Confiscation bills of a character so atrocious as to insure, if executed, the utter ruin of the entire population of these States, are passed by their Congress and approved by their Executive. The moneyed obligations of the Confederate Government are forged by citizens of the United States, and publicly advertised for sale in their cities with a notoriety that sufficiently attests the knowledge of their Government, and its complicity in the crime is further evinced by the fact that the soldiers of the invading armies are found supplied with large quantities of these forged notes as a means of despoiling the country people, by fraud, out of such portions of their property as armed violence may fail to reach. Two at least of the generals of the United States are engaged, unchecked

by their Government, in exciting servile insurrection, and in arming and training slaves for warfare against their masters, citizens of the Confederacy. Another has been found of instincts so brutal as to invite the violence of his soldiery against the women of a captured city. Yet the rebuke of civilized man has failed to evoke from the authorities of the United States one mark of disapprobation of his acts, nor is there any reason to suppose that the conduct of Benjamin F. Butler has failed to secure from his Government the sanction and applause with which it is known to have been greeted by public meetings and portions of the press of the United States. To inquiries made of the Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States whether the atrocious conduct of some of their military commanders met the sanction of that Government, answer has been evaded on the pretext that the inquiry was insulting, and no method remains for the repression of these enormities but such retributive justice as it may be found possible to execute. Retaliation in kind for many of them is impracticable, for I have had occasion to remark in a former message that under no excess of provocation could our noble-hearted defenders be driven to wreak vengeance on unarmed men, on women, or on children. But stern and exemplary punishment can and must be meted out to the murderers and felons who, disgracing the profession of arms, seek to make of public war the occasion for the commission of the most monstrous crimes. Deeply as we may regret the character of the contest into which we are about to be forced, we must accept it as an alternative which recent manifestations give us little reason to hope can be avoided. The exasperation of failure has aroused the worst passions of our enemies. A large portion of their people, even of their clergymen, now engage in urging an excited populace to the extreme of ferocity, and nothing remains but to vindicate our rights and to maintain our existence by employing against our foe every energy and every resource at our disposal.

I append for your information a copy of the papers exhibiting the action of the Government up to the present time for the repression of the outrages committed on our people. Other measures now in progress will be submitted hereafter.

In inviting your attention to the legislation which the necessities of our condition require, those connected with the prosecution of the war command almost undivided attention. The acts passed at your last session intended to secure the public defense by general enrollment, and to render uniform the rules governing troops in the service, have led to some unexpected criticism

that is much to be regretted. The efficiency of the law has been thus somewhat impaired, though it is not believed that in any of the States the popular mind has withheld its sanction from either the necessity or propriety of your legislation. It is only by harmonious as well as zealous action that a government as new as ours, ushered into existence on the very eve of a great war, and unprovided with the material for conducting hostilities on so vast a scale, can fulfill its duties. Upon you who are fully informed of the acts and purposes of the Government, and thoroughly imbued with the feelings and sentiments of the people, must reliance be placed to secure this great object. You can best devise the means for establishing that entire coöperation of the State and Confederate governments which is essential to the well-being of both at all times, but which is now indispensable to their very existence. And if any legislation shall seem to you appropriate for adjusting differences of opinion, it will be my pleasure as well as duty to coöperate in any measure that may be devised for reconciling a just care for the public defense with a proper deference for the most scrupulous susceptibilities of the State authorities.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will exhibit in detail the operations of that Department. It will be seen with satisfaction that the credit of the Government securities remains unimpaired, and that this credit is fully justified by the comparatively small amount of accumulated debt, notwithstanding the magnitude of our military operations. The legislation of the last session provided for the purchase of supplies with the bonds of the Government, but the preference of the people for Treasury notes has been so marked that legislation is recommended to authorize an increase in the issue of Treasury notes, which the public service seems to require. No grave inconvenience need be apprehended from this increased issue, as the provision of law by which these notes are convertible into 8 per cent bonds forms an efficient and permanent safeguard against any serious depreciation of the currency. Your attention is invited also to the means proposed by the Secretary for facilitating the preparation of these notes and for guarding them against forgery. It is due to our people to state that no manufacture of counterfeit notes exists within our limits, and that they are all imported from the Northern States.

The report of the Secretary of War, which is submitted, contains numerous suggestions for the legislation deemed desirable in order to add to the efficiency of the service. I invite your favorable consideration especially to those recommendations

which are intended to secure the proper execution of the conscript law, and the consolidation of companies, battalions, and regiments when so reduced in strength as to impair that uniformity of organization which is necessary in the Army, while an undue burden is imposed on the Treasury. The necessity for some legislation for controlling military transportation on the railroads and improving their present defective condition forces itself upon the attention of the Government, and I trust you will be able to devise satisfactory measures for attaining this purpose. The legislation on the subject of general officers involves the service in some difficulties, which are pointed out by the Secretary, and for which the remedy suggested by him seems appropriate.

In connection with this subject, I am of opinion that prudence dictates some provision for the increase of the Army in the event of emergencies not now anticipated. The very large increase of forces recently called into the field by the President of the United States may render it necessary hereafter to extend the provisions of the conscript law so as to embrace persons between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five years. The vigor and efficiency of our present forces, their condition, and the skill and ability which distinguish their leaders inspire the belief that no further enrollment will be necessary, but a wise foresight requires that if a necessity should be suddenly developed during the recess of Congress requiring increased forces for our defense, means should exist for calling such forces into the field without awaiting the reassembling of the legislative department of the Government.

In the election and appointment of officers for the Provisional Army it was to be anticipated that mistakes would be made and incompetent officers of all grades introduced into the service. In the absence of experience, and with no reliable guide for selection, executive appointments as well as elections have been sometimes unfortunate. The good of the service, the interests of our country, require that some means be devised for withdrawing the commissions of officers who are incompetent for the duties required by their position, and I trust you will find means for relieving the Army of such officers by some mode more prompt and less wounding to their sensibility than the judgment of a court-martial.

Within a recent period we have effected the object so long desired of an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, which is now being executed by delivery at the points agreed upon, and which will, it is hoped, speedily restore our brave and un-

fortunate countrymen to their places in the ranks of the Army, from which by the fortune of war they have for a time been separated. The details of this arrangement will be communicated to you in a special report when further progress has been made in their execution.

Of other particulars concerning the operations of the War Department you will be informed by the Secretary in his report and the accompanying documents.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy embraces a statement of the operations and present condition of this branch of the public service, both afloat and ashore; the construction and equipment of armed vessels both at home and abroad; the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance stores; and the establishment of workshops and the development of our resources of coal and iron. Some legislation seems essential for securing crews for vessels. The difficulties now experienced on this point are fully stated in the Secretary's report, and I invite your attention to providing a remedy.

The report of the Postmaster General discloses the embarrassments which resulted in the postal service from the occupation by the enemy of the Mississippi River and portions of the territory of the different States. The measures taken by the Department for relieving these embarrassments as far as practicable are detailed in the report. It is a subject of congratulation that during the ten months which ended on the 31st March last the expenses of the Department were largely decreased, whilst its revenue was augmented, as compared with a corresponding period ending on the 30th June, 1860, when the postal service for these States was conducted under the authority delegated to the United States. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to determine whether the measures heretofore devised by Congress will accomplish the end of bringing the expenditures of the Department within the limit of its own revenues by the 1st of March next, as required by the Constitution.

I am happy to inform you that in spite of both blandishments and threats, used in profusion by the agents of the Government of the United States, the Indian nations within the Confederacy have remained firm in their loyalty and steadfast in the observance of their treaty engagements with this Government. Nor has their fidelity been shaken by the fact that, owing to the vacancies in some of the offices of agents and superintendents, delay has occurred in the payments of the annuities and allowances to which they are entitled. I would advise some provision

authorizing payments to be made by other officers, in the absence of those specially charged by law with this duty.

We have never-ceasing cause to be grateful for the favor with which God has protected our infant Confederacy. And it becomes us reverently to return our thanks and humbly to ask of his bounteousness that wisdom which is needful for the performance of the high trusts with which we are charged.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 18, 1862

Suspend martial law to the extent you recommend and issue order to that effect in my name.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Gordonsville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 18, 1862

The reports from below not fully confirmed, but rendered more probable.
Hampton is making reconnoissances in force.
Expect to hear conclusively today.
Have urged the arrangement desired.
Want of transportation detained Colquitt's Brigade until tomorrow.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis.

(From New York Public Library.)

August 20th, 1862.

Yours of the 16th inst. in which you say, "I have &c" received. I hasten to say that I perceive from this that you may be under an impression that General Pemberton planned to pre-

sent obstructions and defense in the Harbour of Charleston. In this you are under a misapprehension for in his interviews with the Executive Council and myself at Charleston in April 1st, he did not seem to have any faith in being able to keep the enemy out. But said he was willing to let General Ripley have full authority to progress with the work and said if any man could do it he was full of energy and talent. I think he even found the idea of dismantling Fort Sumter and removing the guns to the fort to save them and defend the State from further invasion.

If you will call for the letter I wrote General Lee, dated last May 23rd calling upon him to issue the order to defend the city to the last extremity you will see that I then asked for cannon to be breasted in certain places for action, and determined resistance in the main harbour, and Genl. Lee kindly issued the order. I conscientiously believe from my interviews with Gen. Pemberton that he had no idea of defending the city and then that he intended to withdraw the troops if the harbour was approached by the enemy in great force and power. This was the reason I made that urgent appeal to Genl. Lee and when Genl. Pemberton received that order, no man was more astonished than he was and not until then did he seriously set to work to prepare for defence, . . .

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Gordonsville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 21, 1862

Your dispatch received. The retreat presents a case not originally contemplated. Have consulted Genl. G. W. Smith who will remain on the duty to which you assigned him, and will send Genl. Hill to resume the command of his old Division. To be self-reliant against a sudden attack, the force at Junction must under existing circumstances be held in readiness for co-operation, and the Brigades of Wise, Walker, Ransom, Martin, and Daniel be retained.

Nothing certainly known of retiring forces beyond New Kent C. H. Have received no further communication in relation to a landing at Bogue Inlet.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. J. W. Harris and others, Columbus, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 21, 1862

The difficulty of getting engines and iron for armor would render the prompt completion very difficult. Any aid that I could give would be freely rendered.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. H. Marshall, Abingdon, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 22, 1862

Despatch was intended to prevent delay on supposition of a change of purpose.
Do not wait for letter.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Rapidan Station, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 25, 1862

Your dispatch received. Your letter hoped for in afternoon mail did not arrive.
Genl. Hill when sent up was directed to communicate with you and receive instructions. I stated to you the force retained. You know the condition here. Genl. Smith will comply with your requisition.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Howell Hinds,[1] *Fayette, via Mobile.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 26, 1862

The law does not permit the organization of men subject to conscription into new companies.
Do you wish to form a company of men over thirty-five years of age?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 26, 1862

I learn that the arms sent except one thousand were not marked for you.
The Chief of Ordnance has been instructed to send to your address the two thousand you request.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. Van Dorn, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 26, 1862

The Chief of Ordnance will send you some heavy guns and I hope they may serve the purpose proposed.
Why were the arms sent to Milliken's Bend? If the Rail Road has not been repaired, they should have been hauled from De Soto rather than exposed.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Son of Col. Thomas Hinds, of Mississippi, a hero of the battle of New Orleans; a boyhood friend and classmate of President Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Jefferson, via Rapidan, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 26, 1862

Genls. Hill and McLaws at North Anna ordered to join you. The Brigades of Ransom and Walker start from here this morning. The troops at North Anna were posted to defend your line of communication from Richmond to Gordonsville. Their advance uncovers that line to attack by the enemy from Fredericksburg. We have heard of new troops en route to Point Comfort, and an encampment of sick at Point Look Out. The York and James Rivers are open to enemy's fleets. At Chapin's Bluff we have Wise's Brigade, at Drewry's, Daniells's Brigade, reported less than 2000 men. The Cavalry being sent forward, we shall be less able to get early information, and the troops at Petersburg and in N. Carolina are all recruits except the Artillerists at Wilmington. Confidence in you overcomes the view which would otherwise be taken of the exposed condition of Richmond, and the troops retained for the defense of the capital are surrendered to you on a renewed request.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress.
(From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Richmond Va. Aug. 26, 1862

To the Senate and
House of Representatives

I herewith transmit for your consideration a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, submitting an estimate of the amount required for a purpose specified, and covering a copy of a letter from the Hon. Howell Cobb in reference to the matter.

I recommend an appropriation of the Sum, and for the object mentioned

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Endorsed:

Superscription—Miss. Pres't

Transmitting com'n from Sec'y Treas. in relation to preparation of copies of the Journals of the Provisional Congress and Provisional Convention.

Aug. 26, 1862.

Ref'd Com'ee Finance

Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress.

(From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Richmond Va. Aug 27, 1862.

To the Senate and
House of Representatives

I herewith transmit a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, submitting estimates "of the amount required "to defray expenses incurred in detecting forgers of Treasury "notes of the Confederate States, and bringing them to justice."

I recommend that an appropriation be made of the sum, and for the purpose specified.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

An Estimate for amount required *to defray expenses* incurred *in detecting forgers of Treasury Notes of the Confederate States,* and bringing them to justice.

For Compensation of Experts, not to exceed eight in number, to be employed in detecting forgers of Treasury Notes, and located at such points, and paid in such proportion, as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct	$12,000———
For travelling and other Expenses incidental to the detection of persons employed in preparing and passing forged Treasury Notes	$13,000———
	$25,000———

Treasury Department,
Richmond, Va.
August 27th, 1862.

C. G. MEMMINGER
Secretary of the Treasury.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Wm. J. Hardee,[1] *Chattanooga, Tenn.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 27, 1862

Col. Brown is nominated for Brigadier. Meantime you can assign him to that duty.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Salem, via Rapidan.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 28, 1862

Dispatch of 27th recd. Congratulate you upon events recited. Letters of 23rd and 24th recd. today. The reinforcements asked for by you have been sent forward, and the cavalry to which you refer particularly should have joined you by this time. Genl. Pendleton left here fully possessed of my views, and charged to communicate them to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Hardee, William Joseph (1815-1873), an American soldier, was born in Savannah, Ga., November 10, 1815, and graduated from West Point in 1838. He was sent to Europe in 1839 to study cavalry tactics; was made a captain September 13, 1844; served in the Mexican War under General Scott; was brevetted major March 25, 1847, for bravery at Medelin near Vera Cruz, and lieutenant-colonel, August 20, 1847, for gallantry at St. Augustine. He was commandant of West Point 1856-1861, but resigned from the army January 31, 1861, to enter the military service of the Confederacy. He was commissioned a colonel of cavalry March 16, 1861, was made a brigadier-general June 17; distinguished himself by his tactical leadership at the battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, and was immediately made a major-general. He fought under General Bragg at Perryville and Stone River and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. He was placed in charge of the defense of Mississippi and Alabama in 1863; took part in the battle of Missionary Ridge, succeeded General Bragg in command of the Army of Tennessee, December 2, 1863, but was replaced by Polk December 23, 1863. Hardee took part in the Atlanta campaign and was subsequently placed in command of the department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. He was unable to offer any effectual opposition to General Sherman in his march to the sea and after Savannah was captured he retreated through the Carolinas and joined General Johnston. He surrendered with Johnston April 26, 1865. Hardee died at Wytheville, Va., November 6, 1873. He was the author of "Hardee's Tactics," an official manual of infantry drill and tactics.

Jefferson Davis to Hons. Geo. B. Hodge[1] *& W. B. Machen, M. C.*[2] *from Kentucky.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 30, 1862

Gentlemen:

In response to certain inquiries made by you in a note addressed to me yesterday, I have the honor to reply.

You ask first: "Whether under existing laws the President has power to suspend the enactment of Congress in regard to the Conscription in Kentucky and receive volunteers from that State who have or may organize themselves into companies, battalions and Regiments, electing their own officers."

My reply is that I do not think the President has such power, and this reply embraces a response to your second question also.

In answer to your third question, whether "additional legislation is desirable on the part of Congress to invest the President with such power," I reply that in my opinion it is desirable.

Your fourth interrogatory reads: "Whether it will be in accordance with your views, that upon obtaining possession of the State, a military commission shall be appointed with authority to assess damages which may have accrued to the loyal citizens of the Southern Confederacy and levy a tax, to be summarily collected, upon the supporters of the Federal Government for their reimbursement."

[1] Hodge, George Baird (1828-1892), a soldier, was born in Fleming county, Kentucky, April 8, 1828. He attended the U. S. Naval Academy, became a midshipman December 16, 1845; resigned in 1850; was subsequently admitted to the bar at Newport, Kentucky, and was a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, 1859-1861. He entered the Confederate service as a private September 23, 1861, and was soon afterward chosen to represent Kentucky in the Confederate Congress. While not at Richmond, he was in the field, and was made captain and assistant adjutant-general in Breckinridge's division, 1862; promoted to major for gallantry at Shiloh, April, 1862; was made colonel in 1864, serving as inspector-general and brigadier-general the same year. He participated in the battle of Chickamauga, and subsequently commanded the districts of east Louisiana and Mississippi until the close of the war. He resumed the practice of law at Newport, Ky., in 1866; was State Senator in 1873-1877. Hodge wrote Sketch of the First Kentucky Brigade, 31 pp., Frankfort, 1874. He died at Longwood, Orange County, Florida, in 1892.

[2] Machen, Willis Benson (1810-1893), a political leader, was born in Caldwell County, Kentucky, April 10, 1810, and educated in the common schools and on the farm. He was a delegate to the Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1849; was a member of the State Senate in 1854 and served in the State House of Representatives in 1856 and again in 1860; was elected to the first and second Confederate Congresses; was U. S. Senator from September 27, 1872, to March 3, 1873. He died in Louisville, Kentucky, September 28, 1893.

So soon as we obtain possession of the State of Kentucky the Provisional Government of the State will assume its functions and no power will remain in Congress to adopt special legislation in regard to citizens of Kentucky, and if the persons named are alien enemies they are included in measures already adopted. They are subject also to such laws for the punishment of crime as may be enacted by the Provisional Government.

I shall be happy to confer with you on any measures tending to relieve or benefit the people of Kentucky.

I am very truly and respectfully yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to the Governor and Executive Council of So. Ca.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Executive Office,
Richmond, Sept. 3, 1862

Gentlemen:

I have received from the Adjutant General a communication addressed to him by Lt. Col. J. S. Preston, the officer charged with the execution of the law for the enrolment of conscripts in the State of So. Ca. From this communication and its enclosures I learn with profound regret that it is your purpose to promulgate an order "countervailing" that which Lt. Col. Preston has been instructed to issue and thus to obstruct the due execution of the conscript law.

The issue thus presented to the Confederate Government is one which I am unable to avoid without violation of official duty. It is of the gravest character and I am unwilling to accept it without an appeal to your well-known and fully recognized patriotism and devotion to the common cause. I must confess that among the trials and difficulties of the pending contest for our liberties and independence, none was less apprehended by me than that which would arise from the contemplated action of the Executive authority of South Carolina. The grounds of your action are not disclosed otherwise than it may be possible to gather them from the papers enclosed by Lt. Col. Preston. From these it appears that on the 19th August, it was by you, "Resolved, that Col. J. S. Preston be informed that the Governor and Council do insist upon the exemption granted by the State authorities of all persons claimed to be liable to Confederate

conscription''; and that by letter of the same date addressed to the same officer, you informed him, after setting forth his order calling certain conscripts into camp, ''that public policy requires that a countervailing order should issue from the State authority upon the appearance of such an one as you propose; and the duty the Governor and Council owe to the Sovereign power of the State will render it imperative upon them to do it.''

If I do not misapprehend the meaning of these passages, the right is here broadly asserted that the State of South Carolina may at her pleasure relieve a portion of her citizens from obedience to laws of the Confederate Congress, admitted to be ''Constitutional laws,'' by your permitting them to be executed on another portion of the people. The right thus asserted is to my mind so devoid of foundation, that I hesitate in attributing to you the intention of maintaining it, and still entertain the hope that I may have misapprehended your meaning. It is so very clear that the agreement of the States, as contained in the Constitution, to delegate to Congress the power to declare war and raise armies would be utterly defeated by the exercise of a power on the part of the States to exempt at their pleasure any or all of their citizens from service in the armies of the Confederacy, that I am at a loss how to illustrate so plain a proposition. If a State may free her citizens at her own discretion from the burden of military duty, she may do the same in regard to the burden of taxation, or any other lawful duty, payment or service. In other words, the assertion of such a right on the part of the State is tantamount to a denial of the right of the Confederate Government to enforce the exercise of any delegated power and would render a Confederacy an impracticable form of Government.

But be it granted even that I am wrong in these opinions, it seems to me that the proposed action of your honorable body would still be without just ground. The conscript law acts upon individuals in the different States. If any citizen of the State of South Carolina entitled to exemption from its operation, is wrongfully subjected to its action by the Confederate officers, his remedy is open to him. It is plain and easy. Let him apply to the judges of the land for relief from the action of the Confederate officer, and if the State law be indeed valid and operative in his favor, he will be released. It seems to me that the interference of the State Executive countermanding or ''countervailing'' the action of the Confederate Executive is the most exceptionable of all possible means of redress for the oppression of the citizen. Most assuredly, it has never occurred to

me that in any conceivable case it could be my duty to "countervail" or countermand the order of the Governor of a State in its action on individuals. The Confederate courts, as well as those of the State, possess ample powers for the redress of grievances whether inflicted by legislation, or Executive usurpation, and the direct conflict of executive authorities presents a condition of affairs so grave and is suggestive of consequences so disastrous that I am sure you cannot contemplate them without deep seated alarm. On a memorable occasion in the history of South Carolina the State authorities nullified an act of Congress because of unconstitutionality, but on no occasion did any portion of her citizens ever maintain the right of that State to modify an order of the General Government.

It does not appear either from the resolution of your honorable body, or from the letter of the Chief of the Military Department that any other action is contemplated at present than a published order which will deter the citizens from obeying the Confederate law, and thus render them liable to punishment if it should happen that your opinion of their rights to exemption should be held erroneous by the Courts. Without adverting to the deplorable effect upon public opinion that must necessarily result from the publication of orders exhibiting a direct conflict between the Confederate and State Executives, may I not appeal to your candor for the admission that the rights of the State will be equally vindicated and those of the conscript be secured with less hazard to himself by an appeal to any competent Judge for relief from the order of the Confederate officer. Will not the writ of *habeas corpus* be amply effective to relieve him from personal constraint by the officers of this Government, if that constraint be unlawful? And if so, am I not justified in the conviction that you will upon further consideration be satisfied that no public duty imposes on you the necessity of intervening at this crisis of our fortunes in a mode which must greatly embarrass the conduct of the war?

Pardon me for one more suggestion. I am informed that the exemptions claimed as valid were ordained by your convention solely with reference to your State militia; that the ordinance was passed before the passage of the Conscript law, and without any reference to that law; and that by its terms it has no relation to the armies of the Confederacy.

I have no copy of the ordinance and am not aware of its terms, but if my information is correct, it seems to furnish an additional and persuasive reason which may lead you to the conclusion that in view of the early meeting of your Convention,

you may well forbear the action indicated in your letter, and which in my judgment is greatly to be deprecated.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. H. Holt, M. C.[1] of Georgia.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Sept. 3, 1862

My Dear Sir:

As requested I sent for the papers in the case of the Post Office at Columbus and revised them.

The Postmaster General informed me of that which you could not have been aware, viz. that a large portion of the delegation who had concurred in the recommendation of Mr. Ragland had subsequently declared that it was not a decision in his favor as against Mr. Jeter, and expressed a desire that the latter should be confirmed. I found a satisfactory proof that he possessed very generally the confidence of the people and that this together with the strong expression in relation to the manner in which he had discharged his duties had led to his nomination which I could not under the circumstances withdraw.

The kind and patriotic expressions which were connected with your request rendered me anxious to oblige you and assured me that the end you sought was the public good.

Trusting that we may both find that the course adopted will redound to the welfare of the country, I am

Very truly your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Braxton Bragg, care of Genl. J. P. McCown, Knoxville, Tenn.

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 4, 1862

I approve of your alternative in relation to General Smith, and hope you will be able to execute the movement in time.

We heard last night of the glorious result at Richmond, Kentucky, and anticipate the accomplishment of much in that direction. You have the field before you and I rely upon your judgment. (Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Hines Holt, congressman of the U. S. in Twenty-sixth Congress.

Jefferson Davis to John Handy and others, Canton, Miss.

Telegram (not dated)

(probably Richmond Sept. 4, 1862)

The law only authorizes the suspension of habeas corpus in places threatened by invasion. The necessity is not known upon which the request is founded.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(Probable date is Sept. 7, 1862)

Sirs:

It is deemed proper that you should in accordance with established usage announce by proclamation to the people of ——— the motives and purposes of your presence among them at the head of an invading army, and you are instructed in such proclamation to make known,—

1st. That the Confederate Government is waging this war solely for self-defence, that it has no design of conquest or any other purpose than to secure peace and the abandonment by the United States of its pretensions to govern a people who have never been their subjects and who prefer self-government to a Union with them.

2nd. That this Government at the very moment of its inauguration sent commissioners to Washington to treat for a peaceful adjustment of all differences, but that these commissioners were not received not even allowed to communicate the object of their mission, and that on a subsequent occasion a communication from the President of the Confederacy to President Lincoln remained without answer, although a reply was promised by General Scott into whose hands the communication was delivered.

3rd. That among the pretexts urged for continuance of the War is the assertion that the Confederate Government desires to deprive the United States of the free navigation of the Western Rivers although the truth is that the Confederate Congress by public act, prior to the commencement of the War, enacted that

"the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi River is hereby declared free to the citizens of the States upon its borders, or upon the borders of its navigable tributaries"—a declaration to which this Government has always been and is still ready to adhere.

4th. That now at a juncture when our arms have been successful, we restrict ourselves to the same just and moderate demand, that we made at the darkest period of our reverses, the simple demand that the people of the United States should cease to war upon us and permit us to pursue our own path to happiness, while they in peace pursue theirs.

5th. That we are debarred from the renewal of formal proposals for peace by having no reason to expect that they would be received with the respect mutually due by nations in their intercourse, whether in peace or in war.

6th. That under these circumstances we are driven to protect our own country by transferring the seat of war to that of an enemy who pursues us with a relentless and apparently aimless hostility: That our fields have been laid waste, our people killed, many homes made desolate, and that rapine and murder have ravaged our frontiers, that the sacred right of self defence demands that if such a war is to continue its consequences shall fall on those who persist in their refusal to make peace.

7th. That the Confederate army therefore comes to occupy the territory of their enemies and to make it the theatre of hostilities. That with the people of ———— themselves rests the power to put an end to this invasion of their homes, for if unable to prevail on the Government of the United States to conclude a general peace, their own State Government in the exercise of its sovereignty can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on the soil of the State by a separate treaty of peace which this Government will ever be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis.

8th. That the responsibility thus rests on the people of ———— of continuing an unjust and aggressive warfare upon the Confederate States, a warfare which can never end in any other manner than that now proposed. With them is the option of preserving the blessings of peace, by the simple abandonment of the design of subjugating a people over whom no right of dominion has been ever conferred either by God or man.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin, Texas, Sept. 11. 1862.

To His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President &c.
Richmond, Va.,
Sir,

I have the honor to forward for your consideration the enclosed Copies of letters, the one marked (A) from the French and Spanish Consul at Galveston, the other marked (B) being my reply thereto.

As the proceeding of the said Consul would seem to indicate an incipient intrigue, I have deemed it proper to advise you thereof on the threshold.

I have the Honor to be,
Your obedt. Servt.
F. R. Lubbock.

Private & Confidential.

Jefferson Davis to Major Genl. Earl Van Dorn, Grand Junction, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 11, 1862.

The troops must co-operate and can only do so by having one head. Your rank makes you the commander, and such I supposed were the instructions of General Bragg given in his orders to you.

The exchanged prisoners will join their proper regiments. You can keep the regiments which have their Hd. Quarters in your district instead of sending them to their former army corps.

You will have due care to the safety of Vicksburg, Port Hudson &c.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 11, 1862

The action taken was on suggestion of telegraph companies and is designed to protect the Confederate States and to secure the receipts to the true and loyal owners.
The President of the Company is with the enemy and the company is not in condition to fulfil its purpose.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to R. Hawes,[1] Provl. Govr. of Ky.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Sept. 12, 1862.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 2nd inst. in reference to affairs in Kentucky has been received.

In relation to the action stated to have been taken by Genl. Beauregard in seizing the assets of the Bank of Columbus, the Govt. will take prompt measures to remedy any wrong that may appear to have been done; but as you seem, judging by your letter, not to be fully advised in relation to the facts, a further communication from you will be awaited before action is taken.

On the other subjects of the letter, the verbal conference will have satisfied you as to my views.

Very respectfully & truly yrs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Hawes, Richard (1797-1877), a lawyer and political leader, was born in Caroline County, Virginia, February 6, 1797; removed with his parents to Kentucky in 1810; attended Transylvania University, studied law, was admitted and began practising in Winchester. He was a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives in 1828-1829 and 1836, and the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1837, to March 3, 1841. At the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederacy and on October 4, 1862, was installed as provisional governor of Kentucky, but was driven out by Federal troops. Hawes was county judge in Bourbon County, Kentucky, from 1866 until his death near Paris, in that county, May 25, 1877.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. R. Lubbock of Texas, Govr. C. F. Jackson of Mo., Govr. T. O. Moore of La., and to Govr. H. M. Rector[1] *of Ark.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Sept. 12, 1862.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 28th July which was handed to me by the Hon. G. M. Bryan in the current month.

While deeply gratified by the expression of your confidence in my desire to spare no effort for the relief and protection of our fellow citizens in the trans-Mississippi Dept., I anticipated and relied on your devotion to the cause of our country, and your determination to second any measure adopted for its defence.

The delay which occurred in making arrangements for the proper organization of the trans-Mississippi Department arose from causes some of which are too obvious to require mention, and others are of a nature which cannot now be divulged. It is however not improper to say that while Virginia was pressed by the whole force of the U. S. Government, with our Capitol threatened and even closely invested by the largest and best appointed and commanded army of the enemy, it was impracticable to detach such commanding officers to the trans-Mississippi Department as its importance required.

At no time however had the condition and urgent necessities of that Department ceased to be subjects of deep solicitude, and long before your letter was received and immediately after the defeat and dispersion of the enemy by our gallant soldiers in the battles of the Chickahominy, I selected officers possessing my highest confidence for the command and administration duties of the Department and the Districts composing it.

By the assignment of Maj. Genl. Holmes to command the Department, with Major Genls. Taylor, Hindman and Price to

[1] Rector, Henry Massey (1816-1899), sixth governor of Arkansas, was born in St. Louis, Mo., May 1, 1816; attended school in Louisville, Ky., 1834-1835; and removed to Arkansas in 1835. He was U. S. Marshal for the district of Arkansas, 1842-1845; was elected to the State Senate in 1848; began the practise of law in Little Rock in 1854; was elected a judge of the supreme court in 1859, and was governor of Arkansas, 1860-1862. He was a member of the military board for raising and equipping troops for the Confederate service; joined the reserve corps of the Confederate Army in 1862 and served as a private until the close of the war. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1868. He died at Little Rock, in August, 1899.

the Districts of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, aided by a competent staff, I feel assured that the proper military skill, vigor, and administrative ability will not be found wanting.

Large supplies of funds have been sent and will continue to be furnished as the exigencies of the service require, and although not able to give all the aid in arms and munitions of war that would be desirable, a supply has been sent about equal to that asked for in your letter. Some of these supplies have not yet reached their destination and another part was unfortunately lost by capture of a transport steamer by the enemy, yet I feel gratified in being able to state that in every point indicated in your letter, I had anticipated your wishes before its receipt.

On the subject of a Branch Treasury in your Department there will probably be more difficulty in meeting your desires than you are aware of. The law does not now permit it, and I am not sure that the project is feasible. That matter will however be taken into advisement and in the meantime effort will be made (I hope successfully) to prevent any further injury to the service from want of funds.

In conclusion, be assured, gentlemen, that your friendly counsels will always be received with satisfaction, and treated with the deference and consideration to which both personally and officially you are so well entitled. I am fully aware of your superior advantages for obtaining the information necessary for the intelligent guidance of public affairs in the trans-Mississippi Department, and desire you to communicate freely with me. It will always give me pleasure to avail myself of the co-operation which you kindly tender to me.

I am, very respectfully,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Bragg, care of Genl. McCown,[1] *Knoxville, Tenn.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 19, 1862.

Telegrams from Tennessee and Mississippi indicate a want of co-intelligence and co-operation among the Generals of the several columns. No copy of your instructions in regard to

[1] McCown, John Porter (1815-1879), an American soldier, was born in East Tennessee, January 20, 1815, and graduated from West Point in 1840. He served on the northern frontier during the border disturbances

operations in Tennessee has been received and I am at a loss to know how to remedy evils without deranging your plans.
If Van Dorn, Price and Breckenridge each act for themselves, disaster to all must be the probable result.
The returned prisoners have not been formally exchanged and are therefore not available. Van Dorn with three Divisions might perform valuable service. If to act alone he had better have remained in Jackson.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. Marshall, care C. S. Qtr. Master, Abingdon, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 19, 1862.

No one can have an independent command. Co-operation is necessary to success, and the Senior officer present for duty must command the whole.
It was expected that you would have moved with Genl. Smith into Kentucky.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 25, 1862.

Commissary General has directed one of his officers to get consent of owner of salt mine and open a shaft for supply of his Department. Genl. Taylor has been instructed to give the requisite protection and if necessary to exercise authority to promote the working of the mine. I hope this will answer the purpose sought by you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

of 1840-1841; participated in the military occupation of Texas, 1845-1846, and during the Mexican War, fought in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey and Cerro Gordo, the siege of Vera Cruz, and the assault on the City of Mexico. He was brevetted captain for gallantry at Cerro Gordo. He served in the campaign against the Seminole Indians of Florida in 1856-1857 and was a member of the Utah expedition of 1858. He resigned from the army May 17, 1861, to join the Confederacy, was made a brigadier general October 12, 1861, fought at Belmont November 7, 1861, and assumed command of General Bragg's army June 20, 1862. He died at Little Rock, Ark., January 29, 1879.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Sept. 28, 1862.

General:

Soon after the receipt of yours of the 7th inst., I sent to the two houses of Congress a message recommending the establishment of a commission to each army in the field, and that in addition to the ordinary powers of a Court Martial, it should, as an "Inferior Court," have jurisdiction of crimes not defined in the articles of war. Your letter has been read to many members of each House, who have called upon me for explanation or information, and there was reason to hope that a law would have passed before this time. There is, I learn, some opposition, but much confidence is felt in the passage of a bill substantially like the one recommended. Authority has been given to appoint Commanders of Corps d'Armee' with the rank of Lieutenant General. You have two officers now commanding several divisions and may require more. Please send to me as soon as possible the names of such as you prefer for Lt. General, also those for Major General and Brig. Genl. to the extent required for the organization of your Army.

I have steadily urged the prompt enrolment of conscripts to fill up the thinned ranks of your regiments, and directed special attention to the counties of Western Virginia in which but little had been done, because of the presence of the enemy. The report to me has been for the past week about five hundred men, convalescents included, sent forward from this place.

Genl. Loring had not, when last heard from, left Charleston on the Kanawha. His progress seems slow, but he may be, for good, though unknown causes, detained in the valley. My purpose was, after the expulsion of the enemy, to leave Brig. Genl. Jenkins with the cavalry to protect the country, while Genl. Loring advanced to join you, moving by way of the Western slope unless it should be found that his junction with you would be much delayed by taking that route, in which event the Sec. of War was instructed to direct him to return by way of Jackson River, and go down the Valley of the Shenandoah. I hope the supply of shoes which the Q. M. Genl. was directed to send to Winchester has reached you, and relieved our barefoot soldiers. Attention has been called to your recommendations for the use of boxes instead of barrels for hard bread. Genl. Smith keeps you advised of movements in this direction, and Colonel Chambliss has been instructed to com-

municate directly to you any information obtained of the enemy between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. The reports which reach us indicate a purpose either to renew the attempt to advance from Alexandria aided by a movement from Suffolk, or by demonstration there to create a diversion in favor of McClellan's Army. The feverish anxiety to invade the North has been relieved by the counter irritant of apprehension for the safety of the Capitol in the absence of the Army so long criticized for a "want of dash," and the class who so vociferously urged a forward movement in which they were not personally to be involved, would now be most pleased to welcome the return of that Army. I hope their fears are as poor counsellors as was their presumption, and believe the parties sent out from Alexandria and thereabouts are probably for reconnaissance and plunder, and that the collection of troops at Suffolk is mainly for instruction. It might however very well occur that if no check was found to larger and more advanced operations that they would be attempted.

Colonel Lee has no doubt joined you and communicated more fully in relation to our condition and my views than it is prudent to write. I am alike happy in the confidence felt in your ability and your superiority to outside clamor, when the uninformed assume to direct the movements of armies in the field. The Congress has postponed its adjournment until the Monday of next week. The conscript bill has been amended so as to extend the age to 45. In Kentucky we are getting recruits rapidly—2300 had joined at last report. The prospect is improving in Md. Genl. Taylor has obtained several thousand men in La. and was about to commence sending to you detachments of 500 at a time. In the name of the Confederacy I thank you and the brave men of your Army for the deeds which have covered our flag with imperishable fame.

Your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. J. R. Davis,[1] *A.D.C., Richmond, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Sept. 29, 1862.

Colonel,

You will proceed to Petersburg Va., and confer with General French respecting the general condition of his command and

[1] Davis, Joseph R. (1825-1896), a soldier and lawyer, son of Isaac Davis, an elder brother of Jefferson Davis, was born at Woodside, Wilkinson County, Miss., January 12, 1825, was educated in Nashville, Tenn., and at

especially as to the number, organization and efficiency of the Partisan troops serving, or being proposed for service, in that District, also as to the number, position, and movements of the enemy in the country on the south side of the James River, and Eastern Coast of No. Ca. Should it be requisite you will visit the encampments of the Partisans and the camp of instruction near to Raleigh, but it is desired that you should return by or before Thursday next.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Van Dorn, Holly Springs, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 29, 1862.

Have you received my telegram of Sept. 11th, addressed to you at Grand Junction?
If so, what action have you taken on it?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 30, 1862.

Your dispatches of 28th & 29th recd. Orders have been sent to Genl. Van Dorn and will no doubt receive his attention. Major Genl. Pemberton goes directly to Jackson to command in your section. He is an officer of great merit and I commend him to your kind consideration. His Department will be Mississippi and Louisiana, East of the River.
I have directed more arms to be sent.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Miami University, studied law and began practising in 1851. He was elected to the Mississippi Legislature in 1860 but resigned in 1861 to enter the military service of the Confederacy as captain of a company from Madison County. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel April 12, 1861; served on President Davis's staff with the rank of colonel, 1861-1862; was subsequently appointed brigadier-general of a brigade of Mississippi troops, operating in southeastern Virginia and in the Battle of Gettysburg. After the war Davis returned to Mississippi and practised law until his death at Biloxi, September 15, 1896.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. I. G. Harris, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Sept. 30, 1862.

I concur with you as to the paramount importance of filling up the old regiments. Cannot you give Genl. Whitthorne two thousand recruits and dispatch him to Virginia? The gallant Tennesseans here are greatly reduced in numbers.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. H. Marshall.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 6, 1862.

Sir:

Your letters of Sept. 9th and 12th have been received, with the enclosures. It is with regret that I perceive you have misapprehended my conversation and correspondence with you. You speak of your entering service in the Confederate Army, as if it had been a matter of compact between yourself and the Government agreed to by you under conditions and pledges made by me. I am not aware of any pledge given to you and know of no other terms under which you hold your commission than those under which others, experienced and gallant officers, hold theirs. When you were offered a position of rank and responsibility in our army, it was my hope that you would prove beneficial to our cause and my intention, that you should have the opportunity of becoming so, in the way in which your expressed wishes indicated, so far as was compatible with the public interests. In accordance with this view and confiding greatly in your assured conviction of your ability to recruit an army of Kentuckians, who would rally to your standard, you were directed with the small force, which it was possible to give you, to take position within or near to the border of Kentucky and allowed large discretionary powers as to your movements. The War Department relied on your own estimate of your ability to recruit and organize an army of Kentuckians. If you failed in this, it is not your part to blame the Department for it, but you now seem aggrieved that, your anticipations having proved vain, this Government has not raised an army to be placed under your

command for the advance into Kentucky, or that other officers of higher rank have not been made subordinate to you in the movement. The first idea was no part of my plan, the other was inconsistent with the constitution of armies. Neither is it perceived on what grounds you consider the promotion of Genls. Buckner and Breckinridge an injustice to you. In compliance with your wishes you were assigned to a separate command, while Buckner and Breckinridge went into subordinate positions in large armies. From their connection with those armies, they had opportunity for distinction, high command has devolved upon them, and they have received corresponding promotion. In the position which you chose, that of commanding a separate brigade, to have given you the rank of commander of a Division would not have been in conformity to law, if it had met the approval of my judgment. You seem disposed to place the responsibility of your operations on the authorities here, and to consider that they have prevented you, when you desired to do so, from advancing into Kentucky. This is not my understanding of the case. When advices were received that Col. Morgan was in Georgetown, Ky., and you asked permission to move forward, the matter was entrusted to your own judgment. Col. Morgan sent word that he held the country outside of Lexington and Frankfort and that he hoped to be able to maintain himself, as recruits were joining him in large numbers. It was thought possible that by your prompt co-operation with him, you might occupy the rich and loyal region of Central Kentucky. I therefore replied to you by telegraph: "Move and be governed by circumstances. Your wishes are noted and will be complied with as far as practicable. Let your operations depend on what is before you and with you."

How could you construe this distinct warning otherwise than that you were to rely on the co-operation of Col. Morgan who was understood to be before you and upon the troops under your command,—excluding from the calculation the idea that reinforcements were to follow you and leaving you to learn what addition to your force would be made by volunteers in Kentucky? This was July 27th. Ten days afterwards and before you had moved, I learned of Col. Morgan's retreat, and as there seemed no prospect of carrying out the movement at that time, which had been proposed on the basis of his co-operation, you were accordingly telegraphed to that effect on the 6th of August. On the 7th of Aug. you stated that you had conferred with Genl. E. K. Smith that your views coincided and that you had promised him to move through Pound Gap on the 15th of

August,—and that this was the propitious moment. You also asked for reinforcements of 5,000 or 6,000 men which you ought not to have supposed could be sent to you.

Such being the state of the case, what was the necessity of tarrying to correspond with the government here? There was nothing in the telegram of August 6th or in any other instructions sent to you, to prevent you from cooperating with Genl. Smith in a combined movement on Kentucky.

On August 17th, I telegraphed you, after reciting the purport of former dispatches, "When success is attainable you have not been required to lose the opportunity." On August 22d in reply to your telegram asking "Has your letter been sent?" I replied as follows, "Dispatch was intended to prevent delay on the supposition of a change of purpose. Do not wait for letter."

You have never been delayed or hindered from entering Kentucky at any time if your judgment was satisfied as to the success of the movement. Your action was referred to your own discretion, with the full knowledge you had of your own situation. It is very true your requests for large reinforcements have not been complied with. It has never been possible under pressing military necessities for the Govt. to divert from other service an army to be placed under your command, and as the idea has never been entertained, it could not have been held out to you that such a contingency would occur. Your refusal to obey the order of your superior Genl. E. K. Smith is a matter of equal surprise and regret. The orders sent to Genl. Loring, commanding in Western Va., instructed him not to interfere with your departure from his command when you could make a movement on Ky. But how could these instructions affect you when you left that Dept. and came within the limits of Ky., and under the authority of other superior officers? Your desire for supreme command in the State of Kentucky it is impracticable to gratify. I hope you did not intend to present the alternative of your promotion or your resignation. However much I might have felt inclined from public considerations and confidence in the capacity of an officer, to advance him, I could never comply with such a demand as this nor give him promotion while such a question was pending.

I trust that calm reflection will point out to you the impropriety of taking such a position; and that a sincere desire to benefit your native State and the Confederacy in whose armies you have enlisted will enable you to perform cheerfully any appropriate duties to which you may be assigned, and to carry

out cordially and zealously that part of the great work which may fall to your share.

With best wishes for yourself personally and my earnest prayers for the success of our arms employed in the redemption of Ky. from usurpation and tyranny, I am,

Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 8, 1862.

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 30th ult. has been received and duly considered. Your request for General Ripley will be complied with, if General Lee can spare him. I am expecting daily to hear from General Lee upon the subject.

I will communicate your wishes to the Secretary of the Navy with regard to the commanding officers of the Gunboat, and will endeavor to have satisfactory details made for that service.

The main advantage of the obstructions across the harbor of Charleston is that they may prevent the enemy's gunboats from running rapidly by during the darkness or at other times. If they are sufficiently strong to detain the vessels for a considerable time under the fire of our Forts and Batteries, and the guns are well served, we should be able to sink or drive away any boats that might attempt to pass.

Very respectfully & Truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 10, 1862.

The resignation of Capt. George has not been received. In the meantime he can remain on the duty to which you have assigned him.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 10, 1862.

Governor:

In accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of Virginia 3d Oct. 1862, I have the honor to call upon your Excellency for (4500) Four thousand, five hundred negroes, to be employed upon the fortifications.

Enclosed you will find a letter from Lt. Col. Gilmer, Chief of the Engineer Bureau, suggesting the counties on which the call should be made and the apportionment of the draft among them, together with suggestions as to the manner of delivering the slaves to Engineer Bureau, all of which is submitted for your consideration.

It is unnecessary to call your Excellency's attention to the importance of a prompt and efficient response to this call, in view of the necessity of completing the works for the defence of Richmond.

Very respectfully and truly
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Lucien J. Dupree,[1] Richmond.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 11, 1862.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of this date is before me. Your suggestion that certain Louisiana Regiments in Virginia should be sent to Louisiana is one that has heretofore engaged my attention. It was hoped that before this date recruits from Louisiana would have been sent on to fill up one Brigade and that the other could be sent to Louisiana to be filled up and to serve there, but I have been disappointed by the non-arrival of recruits from Louisiana to fill up her Regiments and also by the general failure to fill up the regiments composing Genl. Lee's army. That army is now in the presence of an enemy of vastly superior numbers, and you will perceive the difficulty which embarrasses us, of withdrawing

[1] Lucius J. Dupree was born in the State of Louisiana in the year 1822; graduated at the University of Virginia in the year 1842. After the Civil War he engaged in the practice of law in his native State and died in the year 1870.

at this time any portion of his force. I would that I could now send three or four regiments to Louisiana, but dare not reduce our force here. When it can, it will be done.

Please accept my thanks for your patriotic desire to advance the public interests and also for the expression of your friendly regards towards myself. I regret that your public duties have prevented my seeing more of you and trust that more propitious times will accompany your return to Richmond.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. Phelan,[1] *C. S. Senate.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 11, 1862

My dear Sir:

I have read and return the telegram enclosed. My attention was given to the subject in anticipation of disaster which the want of co-intelligence and co-operation suggested.

Major General Pemberton was sent to Jackson, and as soon as the repulse of our forces at Corinth was known, I submitted for the advice and consent of the Senate the nomination of Genl. Pemberton to be Lt. Genl., having confidence in his ability to make the most of the means for the protection of Missi. &c. &c.

If he is confirmed he will be able to secure unity of action among the different parts of our forces in that region. In the meantime he has been directed to give all the aid in his power to the Army at Ripley now under the command of General Van Dorn; and General Jones commanding in East Tennessee has been directed to sustain Forrest whose movement may make a diversion and relieve Van Dorn.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Phelan, James (1820-1873), a lawyer and political leader, was born at Huntsville, Alabama, November 20, 1820. He served an apprenticeship in the office of the Huntsville Democrat, 1835-1842; became editor of the Flag of the Union at Tuskaloosa, in 1842; was elected State Printer in 1843; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1846; practiced in Huntsville, 1846-1849, and in Aberdeen, Miss., 1849-1865. He was a member of the Mississippi Senate in 1860, advocated secession, was a Senator in the first Confederate Congress, 1862 to 1864, and judge advocate of Alabama, 1864-1865. In 1867 he went to Memphis, Tenn., where he practiced law until his death, May 17, 1873.

Jefferson Davis to Col. Jas. Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 11, 1862

Can I hope to have your services on my staff or have you concluded to continue your labors in the Executive Council? Please oblige me with a reply.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Va. (Probable date Oct. 17, 1862)

The act of April 19th 1862 prohibits exportation to any port or place of the Confederate States in the possession of the enemy and attaches a penalty to the offence. The cotton might be exchanged with the Frenchman for salt, the cotton to be sent to Mobile or kept within our limits.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance,[1] Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 17, 1862

My dear Sir:

The resolutions adopted at a meeting of the citizens of Onslow Co., N. Car. referred to me by you were duly received and have occupied my serious attention.

[1] Vance, Zebulon Baird (1830-1894), a political leader, was born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, May 13, 1830, attended Washington College, Tennessee, and the University of North Carolina, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1852, and commenced practising in Asheville. He was elected solicitor of Buncombe County in 1852; was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1854; and served in the national House of Representatives from December 7, 1858, to March 3, 1861. He entered the Confederate service at the outbreak of the Civil War and as a captain of a company in the 14th and colonel of the 26th North Carolina regiments took part in the Virginia campaign of 1861-1862. He was governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865; was imprisoned in Washington from May 20 to July 5, 1865. He was elected U. S. Senator in November, 1870, but was not allowed to take his seat because of disabilities, due to participation in the war. He was an anti-carpet-bagger candidate for governor in 1876, was elected, served, 1877-1879, and was U. S. Senator from March, 1879, until his death at Asheville, N. C., April 14, 1894. He was the author of The Scattered Nation, 41 pp., New York, 1904, and Sketches of North Carolina, 175 pp., Norfolk, Va., 1875. Consult Clement Dowd, Life of Zebulon B. Vance, 493 pp., Charlotte, N. C., 1897.

I have not been unmindful of the condition of the Eastern portion of your State and can make allowance for the anxiety felt by those who reside there. Efforts are industriously made to organize and instruct the new levies of mounted troops, that force being most relied on to protect your exposed districts; and you may be assured that the Govt. will do everything in its power to defend the citizens of Onslow against the depredations of the enemy. With this view General French has received orders to send thither, as soon as practicable, a force to prevent marauding expeditions and afford protection to private property.

The large and increasing numbers of the enemy at Suffolk whence he threatens North Carolina and Virginia as well as our principal line of communications, has rendered it necessary to concentrate our forces at a point where they can offer the most effective resistance, and in the success of that resistance I am sure that the intelligent citizens of Onslow Co., as well as of the rest of North Carolina will perceive how deeply they are interested.

I gratefully acknowledge the earnest and patriotic manner in which, since your assumption of the Executive authority in N. Carolina, you have labored to fill the battle-thinned ranks of her regiments, and recruit our armies in the field. I am happy in the confidence that you will continue to afford this Govt. your valuable co-operation, and beg to assure you of the deep interest I feel in all that relates to the security and welfare of your State.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Col. James Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 20, 1862

Your dispatch of 19th received. The leave is granted. As far as practicable inform yourself of the progress of enrolling and the manner of executing it, also of the condition of the Coast defences and their garrisons by official inspection. Then report to me in person.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Major General T. H. Holmes

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 21, 1862

General:

Colonel Tappan has given me very gratifying information as to your progress in collecting and organizing troops. Arms have been sent and will I hope soon reach you in sufficient quantity to equip both the troops you have and those you may receive from Missouri.

The country rifles if bored out to uniform calibre will be as good as any other weapon for sharp-shooters, perhaps better, as they are of a class of marksmen who being accustomed to weapons with a crooked stock and light trigger, do not, without much practice, attain to accuracy with the army weapon. By giving them the ball adapted to long range they will find that their own rifles will shoot as far as any others.

The retreat of Bragg from Kentucky and the defeat of Van Dorn at Corinth change the condition of affairs so as to materially affect your plans. With the enemy in possession of West Tennessee and the Mississippi River you cannot expect the abandonment of Helena or hazard an advance into Missouri. The rise of the Arkansas, White, and St. Francis rivers would in that event enable the enemy to cut your line of communications, occupy your base and reduce your army to an alternative which cannot be willingly accepted. My knowledge of General Bragg's purpose and capacity is too limited to enable me to speak of his army otherwise than hypothetically.

The expectation that the Kentuckians would rise en masse with the coming of a force which would enable them to do so, alone justified an advance into that State while the enemy in force remained in Tennessee. That expectation has been sadly disappointed, and the future is to be viewed by the light of our late experience.

A conjoint movement by Pemberton, Bragg and yourself may enable our forces while the rivers are low to drive the enemy from Tennessee and Arkansas. If this can be done, strong works and garrisons on each side of the Mississippi may enable us to command the river below Memphis and above Port Hudson inclusive. This being accomplished a better opportunity will be offered to advance into Kentucky and Missouri. The recapture of Helena, of Memphis and of Nashville involving the defeat of three armies, seem to me the objects for our present effort. To

succeed, the purpose should be known only to those who are to execute the work, and there should be entire co-intelligence among the separate commanders. The concentration of two or when practicable of all the columns in the attack upon one of the enemy's armies is so obviously desirable that it is needless even to state it. How and when such concentration should be made can only be determined after the freest communication between the Generals so that each shall possess exact information in regard to the condition of the others.

A very interesting report of General Shoup on the mineral and manufacturing resources of a section of your Dept. indicated the practicability of casting guns and shot and shell. The difficulty and uncertainty of transporting heavy articles from the East makes it especially desirable that such resources should be developed to the full limit. I know that you will not expect skilled workmen, and do not expect therefore all which your necessities require; but hope that you will be able to do something, particularly in the manufacture of siege guns.

The Sec. of War has informed you of the recent appointments of Brig. Genls. for your forces and has inquired whether you required others. I wish you would give early and full information in relation to the levies from Missouri. In organizing recruits into companies, and companies into Regts., you will require men of the several States to be kept together. In organizing Regts. into Brigades, as far as practicable, the same relation will be observed. There I would stop, for the reason that a Division of troops of a single State if overwhelmed would bring too heavy calamity upon a single community, and also to keep up a spirit of emulation under State names.

As fast and as far as may be consistent I wish you to dispense with the machinery of a military police over the people. It has been the subject of many complaints, and when I reflect on the wide territory embraced in your command, the few trained officers and many untried agents you have, I dare not assume that these complaints are without just cause.

May God protect and guide you so that your well appreciated zeal and singleness of purpose may bear fruit in the success of our country's cause.

As ever your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Major General Van Dorn, Holly Springs, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 21, 1862

I did not mean that Pemberton would not command; but that you would not be deprived of your Division, nor Price of his by the order issued here. How did Lovell get your corps? Why will you have no command? I think to remove you now would be injurious to you. To what other field would you be transferred? Will write by Capt. Shaumberg.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. B. H. Hill,[1] *C. S. Senator, LaGrange, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 23, 1862

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 12th has been received and I have to thank you for the candor and promptness with which you have advised me of the condition of public affairs in Georgia and Eastern Tennessee.

The state of affairs in East Tennessee presents a very difficult question and one which can be decided only by the consideration of many points.

With every disposition to conciliate the people of that region, still the pressure upon us by the enemy is such as compels us to call into the field all who are able to serve there. To exempt the unwilling would be to offer a premium to disaffection. To allow those who are unreliable in their loyalty to continue in separate organizations would prove a perilous experiment. Dangerous

[1] Hill, Benjamin Harvey (1823-1882), a legislator, was born in Hillsborough, Georgia, September 14, 1823, was graduated from the University of Georgia in 1844, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1845, and commenced practising in La Grange, Ga. He was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia in 1851, re-elected in 1852 and 1858, and served in the State Senate, 1859-1860. He was elected to the provisional congress of the Southern Confederacy; was a member of the Senate of the Confederate States, 1861-1865; a member of the national House of Representatives from December 6, 1875 to March 4, 1875; U. S. Senator from March 5, 1877, until his death in Atlanta, Ga., August 16, 1882. He wrote Notes on the Situation, 47 pp., August, 1867. Consult H. Hill, Jr., Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, His Life, Speeches, and Writings, 823 pp., Atlanta, 1891.

schemers might obtain important posts and the least hazard incurred might be the propagation and perpetuation of a spirit discontented and unfriendly to the Confederacy.

The distribution of this class of men among Regiments of loyal and tried veterans would neutralize their evil influence and in time, perhaps, effect a change in them. On the whole, though not free from objection, this seems the most feasible plan for efficiently organizing the East Tennesseans. Already some recruits have been received who are much needed to fill up the thinned ranks of the gallant Tennessee Brigade in Va.

I am gratified at the report you give of the favorable tone of public opinion in Georgia relative to the Conscript Act. Nothing could be more unfortunate, not only for the success of the cause in which we are engaged, but also for the future reputation of the great State of Georgia than any conflict between the authorities of that State and the Confederate Government on this question. Having full confidence in the constitutionality of the law I rely on the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia to remove the difficulties that at present embarrass the action of the State authorities.

The recommendations which you make have been referred to the Secretary of War and will receive from him the respectful consideration due to the endorsement they receive.

With much personal regard for yourself, as well as high consideration for your public character, I am

Very truly and respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

P. S. Some regiments (said to be fine) which have been organized in East Tennessee before the 1st of October, will be received.

Jefferson Davis to Colonel James Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 24, 1862.

If this landing is the one which has been repulsed we will delay the reception of regiments until Col. Elford submits statement. If it is a second landing we will receive them all temporarily.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 24, 1862

Upon report of Col. Elford agreed to accept the four regiments for State defence upon conditions to be communicated to you. They will report for duty as regiments with the officers heretofore selected. Congratulate you on the successful repulse of the invaders.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. I. G. Harris, Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 25, 1862

I have not suspended the enrolment. The War Dept. has only agreed to receive 5 Regts. raised before Oct. 1, under authority of a special law. Confer with the military authorities and give us recruits for the old companies as far as practicable. I have steadily required in these matters that the case should be referred to you. You have my confidence. I want your assistance.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 25, 1862

Sir:

Your letter of the 23rd ult., covering Mr. Chew's report of his examination of the salt mines of Louisiana, was, upon its receipt, submitted to the Commissary General, who now informs me: that communications have been received from Lt. Col. Broadwell, the special agent to whom the management of these mines was entrusted, stating that arrangements are in operation for the extensive production of salt from them.

I am deeply conscious of the necessity existing for a vigorous prosecution of this work, and am endeavoring to secure to the country the full benefit to be derived from it.

Maj. Genl. Richard Taylor, commanding the Department of Western Louisiana, has been directed to use his military power,

if necessary, to aid and protect the operations. Thus any one who works on private or State account will have the needful security.

As ever, your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Oct. 29, 1862

My dear Sir:

Your letter of October 22d has been received, and I have given it my earnest consideration. I entirely concur with you as to the immense importance of Mobile and the adjacent country, and the unfortunate results that would follow its fall. I have felt long and deeply the hazard of its condition and an anxious desire to secure it, but have vainly looked for an adequate force which could be spared from other localities. The enemy greatly outnumber us and have many advantages in moving their forces, so that we must often be compelled to hold positions and fight battles with the chances against us. Our only alternatives are to abandon important points or to use our limited resources as effectively as the circumstances will permit.

The self devoted patriotism of the city of Mobile and the State of Alabama assures us that the efforts of the Confederate States will be seconded to the utmost in its resistance to the invaders. I have directed Brig. Genl. Slaughter to be ordered to Mobile, and the Secretary of War is endeavoring to get some troops to send there. If enough Conscripts to fill up the Alabama Regts. now there can be promptly sent to Genl. Forney, they will materially increase his strength and the chances of a successful resistance. Your friendly cooperation, which has already been cheerfully rendered, is expected to render valuable aid in accomplishing this object.

Directions were given by me that you should be called on to aid enrolment by ordering State officers to perform the duty. Thus I hoped to avail myself of your good disposition to advance the service and to secure the greatest efficiency and least dissatisfaction. Such is still the policy I prefer and which your closing remarks lead me to suppose would be most acceptable to you.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. E. K. Smith, Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Oct. 29, 1862

General Bragg is here, leaves day after tomorrow; you will judge whether you can now be spared; if so, will be glad to have the proposed conference; have written by Dr. Smith.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 1, 1862

You have not been fully informed as to the troops in the West. Your proposition can not be accepted. I hope the regiments you had organized and which were offered for service will enable you promptly to reinforce the command at Charleston.

You know the urgency, and we must all exert every faculty and make any sacrifice.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 1, 1862

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 25th ult. and regret the disappointment to which some of the recruits of Nor. Carolina have been subjected. I concur with you as to the policy of allowing the conscripts, as far as the state of the service will permit to select the companies and regiments in which they are to serve. The right secured by law to the volunteer to select his own company was lost, it is true, by enrolment; but the policy was so obvious of associating men together who would best harmonize with each other, that it was my purpose to continue the privilege beyond the limit fixed by law.

The danger to the Coast of N. Car. and our inability to draw troops from the Army of Nor. Virginia rendered it proper that the greatest exertions should be made immediately to fill up the regiments in General French's command; but this did not inter-

fere with allowing the conscripts to select among regiments the one to which they would be assigned, so long as vacancies existed in the companies chosen; and that I expected would have been done.

I will send your letter to the War Department with a copy of this reply to you, and hope for the future there will be ground for dissatisfaction and that as far as feasible the disappointments to which you refer may be corrected by transfer.

I feel grateful to you for the cordial manner in which you have sustained every proposition connected with the public defense and trust that there will always be such co-intelligence and accordance as will enable us to cooperate for the public good.

The Conscript Act has not been popular anywhere out of the army. There, as you are aware, it served to check the discontent which resulted from retaining the 12 mos. men beyond the term of their original engagement, and was fairly regarded as a measure equitably to distribute the burden of public defence, but the State authorities have nowhere offered any opposition to its execution, or withheld their aid except in the State of Georgia, and so far as the cadets of the Military Institute are concerned, in the State of Virginia.

I shall endeavor by judicial decision to settle the questions raised in those two States, and in the meantime have been cheered by the evidence of a popular sentiment which supports any measure necessary to protect our country and secure our political independence.

Like yourself I have hoped that the party distinctions which existed at a former time would be buried in the graves of the gallant men who have fallen in the defence of their birthright, and that we should all as a band of brothers strike for the inheritance our fathers left us.

With sincere regard, I am

Yours respectfully and truly
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to V. Row, Woodville, Mississippi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 4, 1862

Congress can only exempt from Confederate service.
State laws may require exempts to perform service to the State.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to A. M. Clayton, Jno. W. C. Watson,[1] *W. D. Mason, Holly Springs, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 4, 1862

General Johnston is still unable to go on duty. Lieut. Genl. Pemberton is assigned to command, and will, I am sure, do all which is practicable.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 4, 1862

I do not understand the difficulty about the four regiments. My wish was to get prompt reinforcements to General Beauregard and at the same time to fill up the old regiments as far as practicable. If it will aid the first object to receive the four regiments as organized for three years or the war and for service in South Carolina I will concur in that assignment.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Dr. F. J. Haywood, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 5, 1862

On receipt of your dispatch endeavored to find your son. Have not succeeded. When found, your request shall be attended to.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Watson, John W. C. (1808-1900), a lawyer and political leader, was born in Albermarle County, Virginia, February 27, 1808, and was educated at the University of Virginia. He practiced law at Abington, Virginia, 1833-1845; removed to Holly Springs, Miss., in 1845; was a member of the Constitutional Convention of that State in 1851. After the secession ordinance was adopted, however, he was elected to the senate of the Confederate States, and served from 1863 to 1865. He was a member of the Mississippi reconstruction conventions of 1865 and 1868; supported the revolution of 1875; was a circuit court judge, 1876-1882; and in October, 1885, he successfully upheld the constitutionality of the Railroad commission law of 1884. He died at Holly Springs, September 24, 1900.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 6, 1862

Your letter of the 28th ult. received from Maj. Jones. The proposition therein would not violate Confederate laws, as the port proposed is not in possession of the enemy, nor the voyage to France by way of any port held by the enemy. To prevent abuse, it is necessary to conduct the business under your own supervision. With such safeguard, I will give the necessary orders to the military authorities for the quantity specified by you. I think you ought to get at least twenty sacks of salt for a bale of cotton. At peace prices which should be the standard a bale of cotton is worth forty sacks of salt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Mary F. Wilkinson

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 7, 1862

Mrs. Mary F. Wilkinson,
Vicksburg, Mississippi,
Dear Madam,

Your letter, informing me of the death in battle of Col. Wilkinson [1] and asking my advice in reference to your son, has been received.

I sympathize with your bereavement, my dear Madam, and realize your anxiety. It would give me pleasure to be able to assist the son of a father who fell so nobly for his country, and who has himself fought so well that country's battles. And I regret that I cannot now point out some path on which duty and safety might go together. It is still some time, however, before he will be liable to renewed military service; and let us hope that the intermediate period may afford a solution for the difficulty.

Though we cannot yet see the termination of the present war, it may, under God's pleasure, be near at hand. If it be otherwise, I shall be happy to give your son any aid or counsel in my power.

Very respectfully and truly,
(signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

[1] Col. John C. Wilkinson colonel Eighth Reg. Miss. Inf.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton, Tallahassee, Fla.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 7, 1862

Sir:

Your letter of the 10th ult., calling my attention to the dangers now threatening the State of Florida, and asking for additional forces and munitions of war, was submitted to the perusal of the Secretary of War and Genl. Lee.

The situation of the State has been a subject of frequent reflection. I am fully sensible of the perils which beset it; and the only unsolved problem in connection with its defence is how to procure an adequate force.

General Lee reports that he cannot send the Florida Regiments home; and we have no other reinforcements that could be spared without injustice to other sections equally important and equally threatened. Arms, however, have already been sent to you, and the Secretary of War tells me that he has informed you of his readiness to arm such troops as you may be able to organize from men not subject to conscription.

Engineers are now surveying the Chattahoochie, and when they report a plan of operations the work of defence in that quarter will be energetically prosecuted.

The military District of Florida has been extended in accordance with your suggestion, and as soon as I can determine upon a commander he will be assigned to duty.

I shall cooperate to the full extent of my power in all your efforts against the common enemy, and trust we shall be able to check his further encroachments.

Genl. Howell Cobb, whose reputation for administrative capacity has during the war been increased by exhibition of fitness for military command, has been ordered to proceed to the District embracing the country between the Suwanee and the Chattahoochie Rivers. His acquaintance with the people of Georgia and Alabama will, I hope, accelerate preparations for the requisite military operations.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Culpeper C. H., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 7, 1862

I handed your letter to General Whiting for perusal. Your remarks in reference to him, to Walker, and Lee, induce me to say that Walker need not be sent, and if you require Lee, he will be sent back to you. Will endeavor to arrange about Posey so as to meet your views.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. Laffon de Ladibat, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 8, 1862

Sir:

I have received the petition of the French Legion of New Orleans, of which you were bearer, and would be greatly gratified to aid in the liberation of the Hon. Pierre Soule now confined in close prison by the United States in violation of the usages of civilized warfare.

I know of no method, however, in which I can assist you in the mission you have assumed. I hope it will be successful, but if not, please convey to the officers of the Legion the assurance that Mr. Soule's captivity, in common with that of many others of our citizens now confined in Northern prisons, is a constant subject of solicitude to this Government, and that no proper efforts will be spared to secure his release.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Colonel Martin J. Crawford,[1] *Jackson, Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 8, 1862

Your application is granted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Colonel Third Reg. Georgia Cavalry C. S. A.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. M. H. Moore, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 10, 1862

It is not known here what authority the Govt. has over the case presented by you. State explicitly.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. M. H. Moore, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 11, 1862

The Adjt. General has been instructed to give you the authority asked for.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. A. H. Kenan,[1] *Milledgeville, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 11, 1862

Thank you for the good news in reference to the Conscript Act.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Isabella Grinnell, Globe Hospital, 19th Street, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 11, 1862

Madam:

I have received your note of the 4th inst., asking the promotion of your son, Mr. Linus Musgrave, to be Acting Master in the Navy, and have referred it to the Secretary of the Navy for prompt attention and such compliance as may be consistent with his sense of the requirements of the service.

With a high appreciation of your kind and untiring efforts in behalf of our sick and wounded soldiers, and with the best wishes for Mr. Musgrave, I am

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Confederate Congressman from Georgia.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 11, 1862

Yours of the 9th and 10th received. The reinforcement sent, Evans' Brigade, is all that is now disposable. It is not practicable at this time to reduce the command in Tennessee. The vigilance of deepest interest watches affairs in N. C. We will try to anticipate the enemy.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 12, 1862

Dear Sir:

I regret to notice that in your letter to Genl. Holmes of Oct. 27th a copy of which is before me that you suggest the propriety of his crossing the Mississippi and assuming command on the East side of the river.

His presence on the west side is not less necessary now than heretofore, and will probably soon be more so. The cooperation designed by me was cointelligent action on both sides of the river, and such detachment of troops as circumstances might require and warrant.

The withdrawal of the commander from the trans-Mississippi Dept. for temporary duty elsewhere would have a disastrous effect and was not contemplated by me. It was rather hoped that he would be able to retake Helena which would greatly contribute to the security of the country below, both in and out of Arkansas.

Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Ex Dept Austin, Texas.
Nov. 13th 1862

My dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication bearing date 12th Sept ulto, directed to myself and others.

For the kind expressions and the manifest interest entertained by you in behalf of the States West of the Miss. please receive my acknowledgements.

I am also in receipt of letters from Messrs Sexton & Gray, members of Congress from our state, of a very satisfactory character. They both inform me that, from conversations with you they were led to believe you would, for the present, require no more men to leave Texas. Let me assure your Excellency that Texas is almost denuded of the best fighting men: we have over 60 Regts in the Confederate service, very few of which are in the State. We are also very badly off for arms. Our men took with them the best arms they could control. We have an immense frontier and Sea Coast to look after, both of which is now seriously threatened with invasion. May I hope, under the circumstances, that you will, for the present, suspend the enforcement of the new Conscript law within the State. The Commanding General has called upon me for 5000 State Troops for the defense of the State for a short period. I am busily engaged raising them. Should however the new Law be enforced I do not believe I can get them. There is a feverish anxiety pervading the public mind as to what may happen here this Winter. We are already being annoyed on the coast by the enemies Gun Boats and Marauding parties; and a formidable invasion is feared on our Northern Border, where recently great outrages have been committed by Indians & Jay Hawkers, as also the discovery of many home Traitors. Many believe that we will be invaded from the West;—under these circumstances, our people are really uneasy. They are well aware how poorly provided we are with arms and ammunition; hence the great reluctance to see any more men leave the State at this time.

I have at all times, and on all occasions, assisted in sending men out of the State to the scene of more active operations; & I dislike now to admit that we should send no more. I am, however, of the opinion that the men now in Texas should be permitted to remain here until next Spring & if by that time, necessity should require Texas to furnish an additional number, I feel safe in saying that her people will be ready to respond. The permitting of so many new organizations, since the passage of the Conscript law, has done much harm; & I assure you that unless Regts are consolidated the old ones can never be filled up. I, of course, only speak for Texas. I know not how it is in other localities. I am clearly of opinion that the old Regiments that have seen so much hard service, and reflected so much honor upon themselves, and performed such gallant deeds for

the Country, should be fostered, cherished, and cared for. Those veterans should be kept together and their identity preserved, even if it be at the expense of the late organizations.

Can you not spare us a few thousand arms for this State? If we could get back the old rifles & shot guns that have been cast off by our men, & which we trust have been laid aside for more improved ones, we would feel better able to defend our state. If I could be assured of any success, I would send an agent on to attend to their transportation. Will you not send an order to the Commanding General suspending the late act within the State of Texas?

Let me hope to hear from you soon

With continued assurance of my high regard & esteem, I am

Your Excellency's friend

F. R. LUBBOCK

To His Excellency
Jeff Davis
President &c.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 14, 1862

Sir:

I have just received yours of this date in relation to instructions given to Genl. Holmes and their modification by transmission of a copy of my letter of the 12th inst.

Confusion and embarrassment will inevitably result unless all orders, and directions in relation to movements and stations of troops and officers, be sent through the established channel, the Bureau of orders and correspondence. In these matters and in all cases of selection of persons to be appointed commissioned officers I have to request a reference before action is taken.

Very respectfully yr. obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 14, 1862

Sir:

My letter of this date of the meaning of which you are in doubt had reference to the general arrangements of the army.

The removal of an Army, the transfer of a Genl., from the Dept. he had been selected to command, the assignment of Genl. officers, and the highest officers of the supplying and disbursing Departments of the staff, are material to the public defence; and such like cases would all suggest the propriety of reference.

The usage has been free conference, and its advantages are apparent.

The appointment of commissioned officers is a constitutional function which I have neither power nor will to delegate, and much which is disagreeable will be avoided by consultation in the first stage of selection.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to S. R. Mallory and C. G. Memminger.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 15, 1862

Decision on the appeal made by the Secretary of the Navy on the question of compensation to the Chief Clerk of the Navy.

Act. No. 130 has for its title "To provide a *compensation* for the *disbursing officers* of the several Executive Departments."

It directs the Head of each Department to "appoint one of his clerks as a *disbursing clerk*"; it fixes his salary at $200.00, in addition to his compensation as clerk "for disbursing the funds of said Department which may be required to pass through his hands."

It repeals "all laws and parts of laws on this *subject* now in *force.*"

The virtue of this repealing clause can only be determined by ascertaining what is the meaning of the words "this subject," that is to say, what is the subject on which Act. No. 130 was intended to operate.

[1] Memminger, Christopher Gustavus (1803-1888), a political leader and financier, was born in Wurttemberg, Germany, January 17, 1803, removed in infancy to Charleston, S. C., graduated at South Carolina College in 1820, and was admitted to the bar in 1825. He represented Charleston in the State Legislature, 1836-1852, and was returned to the State Legislature in 1854. He was chairman of the committee of the provisional Congress of the Confederacy appointed to frame a constitution and was Secretary of the Confederacy 1861-1864. He retired from politics at the close of the war and devoted himself to educational work. He died in Charleston, March 7, 1888. He wrote the Book of Nullification, 31 pp., Charleston, 1830. Consult H. D. Capers, The Life and Times of C. G. Memminger, 604 pp., Richmond, Va., 1893.

There seems to be but one possible answer to this both in the title and words of the law. The subject is the appointment and compensation of disbursing officers of the Executive Departments. I think the Secretary of the Treasury must, in the hurry of business, have overlooked the special object of the law when he said that this repealing clause had reference to the subject of "disbursing." Its only two provisions relate to the appointment and "compensation" of the disbursing officers of the Executive Departments; one of these is plainly stated in the title, and both in the body of the law. Now the Act No. 55 had assigned to the Chief Clerk of the Navy Department "the duties of disbursing agent and corresponding Clerk of said Department," and affixed six hundred dollars per annum as extra compensation "therefor," that is to say for these two duties.

That part therefore of the law which imposed on the Chief Clerk the duty of disbursing, and allowed him compensation for that duty was repealed, and the Secty. of the Navy had power to assign to any other clerk the duty of disbursing and to allow him two hundred dollars therefor; but that part of the law which imposed on the Chief Clerk the duty of correspondence and allowed him extra compensation for that duty, was not repealed.

If the Secty. of the Navy had appointed another clerk to the duty of disbursing clerk, that clerk would have been entitled to two hundred dollars per annum. His Chief Clerk would still have remained charged with the duty of correspondence, and, by the plain language of the Statute, this duty is declared to be an extra duty and entitled to extra compensation, but no other extra compensation was provided than six hundred dollars a year for the performance of this together with another extra duty. The Secty. seems to have avoided any question as to the amount to be paid for the separate duty of corresponding by continuing to confide to his chief clerk the duty of disbursing also.

The history of the law and the intention of Congress may have been such as the secretary of the Treasury states them, and his memory on the subject is no doubt correct. But Congress has, in my opinion, failed to express that intention, and its language does not bear the construction placed on it by the Secty. of the Treasury. It is impossible for me to concur in his view that although Statute No. 55 expressly declares the "correspondence" to be an extra duty of the Chief Clerk, and Statute No. 130 has not one word on the subject of correspondence, yet the

latter statute repeals the former on that subject. Such a constructive repeal would be, so far as I am informed, unprecedented and contrary to the rules which govern the construction of statutes.

My opinion is that the former law in relation to the duty and extra pay for correspondence remains unrepealed, and that the salary of the Chief Clerk of the Navy remains as it was fixed under Act No. 55 in as much as he still continues to perform the duties of disbursing clerk as well as corresponding clerk of the Department.

Though it is true that the Act No. 55 imposes on the Chief Clerk of the Navy the duty of disbursing *"agent"* not clerk, but his duties in that regard being the same as those of the disbursing clerks of other Departments, no importance is attached to this difference in the description of the office.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 15, 1862

Yours of 12th with enclosures forwarded to General French for his action.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 15, 1862

Sir:

I have this moment received yours of this date, notifying me that you resign the office of Secretary of War, and leave the Asst. Secretary in charge of the office. As you have thus without notice and in terms excluding inquiry retired from the post of a constitutional adviser of the Executive of the Confederacy, nothing remains but to give you this formal notice of the acceptance of your resignation.

Very respectfully your obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lieut. Genl. T. J. Holmes, Comdg. trans-Mississippi Dept.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 17, 1862

General:

Enclosed you will find a slip from the "Memphis Daily Appeal" of the 3rd inst., containing an account, purporting to be derived from the "Palmyra (Missouri) Courier", a Federal journal, of the murder of ten Confederate citizens of Missouri, by order of General McNeil of the U. S. Army.

You will communicate, by flag of truce, with the Federal officer commanding that Department, and ascertain if the facts are as stated. If they be so, you will demand the immediate surrender of Genl. McNeil to the Confederate authorities, and, if this demand is not complied with, you will inform said commanding officer that you are ordered to execute the first ten U. S. officers who may be captured and fall into your hands.

Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Thos. J. Judge,[1] Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 21, 1862

Desire your services as member of a Military Court instituted by recent Act of Congress to serve with Army in Virginia, and to rank as Colonel. Answer.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 22, 1862

The hazard you notice of an attack on the mine was anticipated and formed a reason for ordering Sibley's Brigade to that region.

There has been confusion, but it is hoped will be remedied in time to prevent disaster.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Colonel C. S. A.; presiding judge on military court of Maj. Gen. John H. Forney, Dec. 20, 1862.

Jefferson Davis to J. E. Davis, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 22, 1862

Yours of 20th received. My last dispatch inquired how you were and whether Dr. Cartwright had visited you. All well. How are you?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mr. Theodorick Pryor.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 24, 1862

Will see you at the hour proposed.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Thos. J. Judge, Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 24, 1862

Would service with army of General Forney remove objection? Members of Court need not be much exposed.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 24, 1862

Shall we send the two thirty pounders on the lines?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. Polk, Tullahoma, via Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. (24?) 1862

Your dispatch of yesterday received.
In what corps do you desire promotion for Capt. Polk?
If in artillery it must be for service with it; if in Adj. & Insp. Genls' corps must serve in that Dept.
See laws.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govrs. J. E. Brown, of Ga., R. Hawes, of Ky., H. M. Rector, of Ark., F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, C. J. Jackson, of Mo., I. G. Harris, of Tenn., John Letcher, of Va., J. G. Shorter, of Ala., J. J. Pettus, of Miss., F. W. Pickens, of S. C., John Milton, of Fla., Z. B. Vance, of N. C., and Thos. O. Moore, of La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(Circular) Executive office, Richmond, Va.
Novr. 26th, 1862

Sir:

The present condition of public affairs induces me to address this circular to the Governors of the several States on a subject of vital importance to our people.

The repeated defeats inflicted on the Federal forces in their attempt to conquer our country have not yet sufficed to satisfy them of the impossibility of success in their nefarious design to subjugate these States.

A renewed attempt on a still larger scale is now in progress; but with manifest distrust of success in a warfare conducted according to the usages of civilized nations, the United States propose to add to the enormous land and naval forces accumulated by them, bands of such of the African slaves of the South as they may be able to wrest from their owners, and thus to inflict on the non-combatant population of the Confederate States all the horrors of a servile war, superadded to such atrocities as have already been committed on numerous occasions by their invading forces.

To repel attacks conducted on so vast a scale, the most energetic action of every department of the Government is directed, but appreciating the great value of the cordial cooperation of

the different State governments, and with unfaltering reliance on their patriotism and devotion to our cause, I earnestly appeal to them for all the aid it may be in their power to extend to the officers of the War Dept. in the discharge of their duties within the several States, and for their co-operation in the following important particulars:

1. In the enrollment of the conscripts and the forwarding of them to the proper points of rendezvous.
2. In restoring to the army all officers and men now within the States absent without leave or whose term of absence has expired, or who have recovered from disability and are now able to return to duty.
3. In securing for the use of the army all such necessary supplies as exist within the States in excess of the quantity indispensable for the people at home.

Prompt action in these matters will save our people from very great suffering, will put our army in a condition to meet the enemy with decisive results, and thus secure for us an early and honorable peace on the basis of recognized independence.

In addition to the above urgent matters, I beg respectfully to ask the aid of the Executives of the several States in recommending to the several Legislatures such legislation as will enable the Governors to command slave labor to the extent which may be required in the prosecution of works conducive to the public defence, also the adoption of some means to suppress the shameful extortions now practiced upon the people by men who can be reached by no moral influence and who are worse enemies of the Confederacy than if found in arms among the invading forces. The armies in the field as well as the families of the soldiers and others of the people at home are the prey of these mercenaries, and it is only through State action that their traffic can be repressed. Their condign punishment is ardently desired by every patriot.

I am, very respectfully yr. obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. M. Browne, A. D. C. to the Presdt.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Nov. 28, 1862

Colonel:

You will proceed with all convenient dispatch to Milledgeville, Ga. and present to His Excy. Governor Brown the letter which you will find herewith.

You will confer with the Governor in relation to the subject of this letter, and represent to him the existing necessity for the adoption of active measures to send forward recruits to fill the thinned ranks of the regiments from Georgia now in the field, and hoping that the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia may be regarded as conclusive of the Constitutional question presented, assure him of the pleasure it will afford me to have his co-operation in attaining this important object.

After you have seen the Governor you will put yourself in communication with the Commandants of Camps of enrolled recruits in Georgia, personally inspect their commands, and report to me the numbers of men enrolled and liable to conscription, and such other facts in relation thereto as may be requisite for better comprehension of the case.

You will also inquire into the subject of supplies for the Commissary and Quartermaster Genls.' Depts. and with this view you will confer with such officers of these Depts. in Georgia as you may think proper.

When you have concluded the above mentioned duties you will return here and report in person to me.

Very respectfully
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown of Georgia

(From President's Letter Book.)

Dear Sir: Richmond, Nov. 29, 1862

My Aide-de-camp Colonel Wm. M. Browne will hand you the enclosed circular letter addressed by me to the Governors of the several States.

I have directed Colonel Browne to confer with you in relation to the subject of this letter, in the hope that by personal interview time may be gained in the accomplishment of the important results which I desire to attain.

Respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. General Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 29, 1862

Six thousand one hundred stand arms sent you within last month.

How many of these have you received?
Orders sent to Columbus, Missi. to send you all now ready there.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Nov. 29, 1862

Yours of the 28th received. On receipt of previous dispatch, Secty of War was requested to give necessary orders in regard to salt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Sir: Richmond, Nov. 29, 1862

Your letter of the 10th inst., suggesting the exemption from military service by direct Executive action of all those charged with the private custody of lunatics and idiots, has received careful attention.

The clause in the Exemption Act authorizing the Executive to extend the benefits of the Act to cases not specified in it was intended to operate upon *individuals* and not *classes*.

And in the present reduced condition of so many Regiments it is necessary that the law should be rigidly construed.

I regret that I cannot consistently adopt your suggestion.

Very respectfully and truly,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Dec. 1, 1862

Directed the orders to be sent several days since, as soon as you announced your arrangements made. Regret the delay, and hope it may not be injurious. More arms have been ordered to Genl. Pemberton for the use of which I have counted on your bringing out men not subject to duty, but who could serve for short terms. Your past efforts lead me to expect much of you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. T. O. Moore, Alexandria, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Dec. 4, 1862

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter in reference to the defence of Red River, and the completion of the R. R. from New Iberia to Houston.

Both subjects had received careful consideration before the receipt of your letter, although some unavoidable delay has been occasioned by the officers assigned to the duties connected therewith not accepting their appointments.

W. H. James was appointed Capt. of Engrs. especially for assignment to the defence of Red River, and I believe on his own application; but he declined the appointment when made, which necessitated the selection of another officer, Capt. Gotthiel, who is highly recommended by Genl. Beauregard, and who has been ordered to report to Genl. Taylor for this duty. In the meantime, Genl. Taylor had assigned Col. De Russy to take charge of these defences, which has been approved by the War Department.

Four heavy guns, all that could be spared, have been ordered from Charleston to protect whatever obstructions may be first got in place, and others will be furnished as rapidly as our means will admit.

Upon the representations of Dr. Holland in regard to the R. R. from New Iberia to Houston, Capt. Hazlehurst was selected to make a thorough investigation of the subject and report upon it; but he declined the appointment, and some delay was involved in finding a suitable officer to take his place. Capt. T. B. Lee has been selected for the duty, and is en route for the field of his labors. As soon as his report is received, definite action can be taken in the matter.

I am much pleased to learn that Genl. Taylor's assignment is so satisfactory to yourself, and I trust that with the earnest co-operation I am sure you will give him, much may be done to baffle the enemy in his designs upon the Mississippi valley.

With sentiments of regard and esteem, I am,

Very truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to E. L. Bowen, Brookhaven, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Dec. 4, 1862

Trade between citizens of the Confederate States and alien enemies is not sanctioned by this Government.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Dec. 5, 1862

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a communication from Col. J. F. Gilmer, in charge of the Engineer Bureau, and to request that, in accordance with his recommendation, you will call upon the counties specified for five thousand slaves, to be employed in completing the fortifications in the vicinity of Richmond, agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed October 3rd, 1862.

Very respectfully
Your obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Wade Keyes.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Dec. 6, 1862.

Hon. Wade Keyes,
Asst. Attorney Genl.
Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of yesterday and to reply that your explanation as to the supposed discourtesy of your letter referred to me by the Atty. Genl. is entirely satisfactory, and I regret that you did not stop at that point, so that my reply might have ended here. You have however thought proper to renew your discussion of the independence of the accounting officers in the discharge of their appropriate duties, as though a case existed in which I had denied that independence. The assumption is unfounded.

[1] Of Montgomery, Ala., appointment as assistant attorney-general sent to the Senate April 29, 1861.

I must further add that I do not admit the propriety on the part of a subordinate officer of the government to interpose his criticism on the intercourse between the President and members of the cabinet, especially if, as in your case, there be no official connection with the matter.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Dec. (7) 1862

No appointment has been made in place of Ross, deceased. No action will be taken till papers referred to arrive.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Grenada, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Dec. 7, 1862

Are you in communication with Genl. J. E. Johnston? Hope you will be re-inforced in time.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(Richmond Dec. 8th, 1862)?

(Italized words in cipher.)

Reports to the effect that the *enemy* have *withdrawn* from the *attack* on *Vicksburg* with those in relation to their *landing* on the *Louisiana shore*, suggest the possibility of a purpose to put the *first detachment* in position and send *back* the *transports* for *reinforcements*. Should this be indicated to your mind an opportunity may be offered to make a *junction* with the *force* sent by *General Holmes* say at Richmond *Louisiana* and fall upon the *first detachment* so as to *fight* the *enemy* in *detail*. I can hardly

suppose the *campaign abandoned* but of this you can best judge. Keep *open* your *communications* with *General Holmes* so as to give and receive *information*. I am endeavoring to *supply* you with *heavy guns* and *field pieces* of *long range* for *Vicksburg* and *Port Hudson*.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comd. Army N. Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(Taken to Genl. Lee by Capt. H. S. Routh.)

Richmond, Dec. 8, 1862

General:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letters of the 6th and 8th and have reflected upon the suggestions and information they contain.

Entirely concurring in your views as to the propriety of concentrating all disposable force for the impending struggle on the North and South side of Richmond, I regret that I find so little to be drawn on for that purpose.

In Tennessee and Mississippi the disparity between our armies and those of the enemy is so great as to fill me with apprehension, and I have called on Genl. Holmes to ask him, if it can be safely done, to send reinforcements to Genl. Pemberton. The campaign in Middle Tennessee promises little more than an increase of our supplies of subsistence. Genl. J. E. Johnston has been sent to command the Western Department, composed of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and the Eastern part of Louisiana. It was believed necessary to have greater co-operation among those armies, and it was sought in this mode to obtain it.

I propose to go out there immediately with the hope that something may be done to bring out men not heretofore in service, and to arouse all classes to united and desperate resistance. Pemberton has fallen back to the Yallobusha, and is preparing there to give the enemy battle. His force is much less than that of the enemy, but I have the most favorable accounts of his conduct as commander, and trust God may bless us, as in other cases seemingly as desperate, with success over our impious foe.

I have been very anxious to visit you, but feeble health and constant labor has caused me to delay until necessity hurries me in an opposite direction.

I have endeavored to have you furnished with whatever I knew you to be in need of. The two 30-pounder Parrott guns have I suppose reached you, and today the Sec. of War was instructed to have Napoleon guns made for you, with the suggestion that he should endeavor to get the material without using the valuable small guns which might be found useful on muddy roads or in rapid operations, if the material could be otherwise obtained. The quiet which prevails in the camp of the enemy is probably but the delay for further preparation. McClellan having been removed because he did not advance from the Potomac as a base, it is hardly supposable that his successor will fail to attempt that movement. Under this view it does not seem likely that he will so divide his forces as to enable you to attach, or to justify you in dividing yours. You will know best when it will be proper to make a masked movement to the rear, should circumstances require you to move nearer to Richmond.

At present, our information as to the enemies' force on the south side of James River is too imperfect to form an opinion as to his purposes in that quarter. A committee from the North Carolina Legislature visited me recently to propose the organization of a force of exempts, say from five to ten thousand, and to be employed for State defence. They were encouraged to execute the plan, and we may hope thus to receive some increase of numerical strength. If it should be found that the enemy have withdrawn generally from Western Virginia, some further increase of our forces on the south side of James River may be obtained by bringing in three Regiments of Infantry from Marshall and four from the Division lately commanded by Loring. There are also reported to be some twelve or fifteen hundred men in the Northwestern part of N. Carolina. I have directed inquiry to be made that, if it should prove true, they might be added to French's command. Should these expectations be fully realised, the force on the south side of James River will be so augmented as to relieve you in no small degree from anxiety in relation to that portion of the line.

The fleet, of the preparation of which your scout informs you, is composed to a great extent of vessels too deep to enter most of our Southern harbors. The rumor has reached us that it is destined for Brunswick, but I do not perceive an adequate motive for that destination, and of course but little reliance can be placed upon such information as it is practicable for us to obtain in relation to such a matter.

During the period of my absence I shall feel an increasing anxiety to know the events in this quarter, and to have your

views in relation to them. You can send me dispatches to be forwarded from this place. Col. Lee will accompany me. Col. W. P. Johnston will remain at the office.

I hope to return by New Year. May God bless and preserve you.

As ever, your friend
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Chattanooga, Tenn., Dec. 18, 1862

Returned to this place from Murfreesboro last night. Found the troops there in good condition and fine spirits. Enemy is kept close in to Nashville, and indicates only defensive purposes. Cavalry expeditions are projected to break up rail road communications between Louisville and Nashville, and between Memphis and Grant's army.

General Johnston will go immediately to Mississippi, and will, with the least delay, reinforce Pemberton by sending a division, say 8000 men, from the troops in this quarter. No recent intelligence from Pemberton's army.

I will proceed in the train of today unless your answer to my dispatch of last night should turn me back to Richmond. The feeling in East Tenn. and North Alabama is far from what we desire. There is some hostility and much want of confidence in our strength.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Miss. Dept., Little Rock, Ark.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Vicksburg, Missi., Dec. 21, 1862

General:

Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to you copies of letters from Genl. Johnston and from Maj. Genl. Smith in relation to the defence of the Missi. River and to ask your consideration of their contents. It seems to me now clearly developed that the enemy has two principal objects in view, one to get control of

the Missi. River, and the other to capture the capital of the Confederate States. As to the last, our recent successes at Fredericksburg give assurance that at least during the present winter, Richmond may be successfully defended, and at best its capture can only be valuable by the effect it would produce upon public opinion abroad, and by the destruction of manufactories and other resources very essential to our future efforts. But the control of the Mississippi River will be not only indirectly valuable to the enemy by the injury which its loss would inflict upon the Confederate States, but directly by furnishing the best possible base for operations in the valley both on the east and west side of the River, by answering the exigent demand of the North Western States for the restoration to them of the unrestricted use of that river, and by utilizing the heretofore fruitless possession of New Orleans. In my former communications to you I pressed the necessity for co-intelligence and co-operation of our armies on the opposite sides of the river. I had hoped that it might have been possible while the river was low to capture Helena and thus give the best security against invasion by water of the territory of Arkansas; but as this has not been effected, I can not doubt that it has heretofore been impracticable, and the present rise in the river does not permit us to hope that if now taken we should be able to so fortify and arm the place as to make it subserve the purposes indicated. Therefore to prevent the enemy getting control of the Mississippi and dismembering the Confederacy, we must mainly depend upon maintaining the points already occupied by defensive works; to-wit, Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

From the best information at command, a large force is now ready to descend the Mississippi and co-operate with the army advancing from Memphis to make an attack upon Vicksburg. Large forces are also reported to have been sent to the lower Mississippi for the purpose of ascending the river to attempt the reduction of Port Hudson by an attack on both the land and water sides.

The letters enclosed will show you the inadequacy of the forces here to meet the trial to which it will be exposed. If the enemy should succeed in these attempts, he will be then left free to concentrate his forces against your Dept., and though your valor may be relied upon to do all that human power can effect, it is not to be expected that you could make either long or successful resistance. It seems to me then unquestionably best that you should reinforce Genl. Johnston, so as to enable him successfully to meet the enemy, and by his defeat to destroy his power

for such future operations against you as would be irresistible by your isolated force, and by the same means to place the army here in such condition as would enable it in turn to reinforce you when the season will make it practicable for you by active operations to expel the enemy from Arkansas, and having secured your rear, to advance to the deliverance of Missouri. I have never been unmindful of the facility with which the enemy could invade Arkansas by means of the White and Arkansas Rivers, nor underrate the importance of your having the proper works and sufficient garrisons to prevent that movement; but at this season, and in the devastated condition of the country, it seems to me impossible that any large force can invade through the North Western part of Arkansas, and from the forces in that region, I hope you will be able to detach the required number of men to reinforce Genl. Johnston to the extent set forth in the accompanying letters. We can not hope at all points to meet the enemy with a force equal to his own, and must find our security in the concentration and rapid movement of troops. Nothing will so certainly conduce to peace as the conclusive exhibition of our power to hold the Mississippi River, and nothing so diminish our capacity to defend the Trans-Missi. States as the loss of communication between the States on the Eastern and Western sides of the river. I have thus presented to you my views, and trusting alike in your patriotism and discretion, leave you to make the application of them which circumstances will permit. Whatever may be done should be done with all possible dispatch.

Very respectfully and truly your friend
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Jackson, Missi., Dec. 23, 1862

There is immediate and urgent necessity for heavy guns and long range field pieces at Vicksburg.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Mobile, Ala., Dec. 31, 1862

Guns and ammunition most effective against iron clads needed at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Very much depends upon prompt supply.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Dr. S. A. Cartwright, Chatawa, Pike Co., Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Mobile, Ala., Dec. 31, 1862

Will write to you soon. You are appointed Surgeon. Genl. J. E. Johnston will expect you to report to him for general service.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. S. R. Mallory,[1] Secty. of the Navy, Richmond.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Mobile, Ala., Dec. 31, 1862

Please suspend order in relation to Capt. Maffitt.
Admiral Buchanan will write to you fully.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Mallory, Stephen Russell (1813-1873), a lawyer and political leader, was born in Trinidad, West Indies, in 1813, removed to Key West, Florida, in 1821; was educated in various schools, studied law and practiced in Key West. He was appointed Inspector of Customs at Key West in 1832; served in the Seminole War, 1835-1837; was appointed Collector of the Port of Key West in 1845; was a U. S. Senator from March 4, 1851, to January 21, 1861; and Secretary of the Navy of the Southern Confederacy from Februay 21, 1861, to the close of the Civil War. In 1865 he was arrested at La Grange, Georgia, for treason. He was imprisoned until 1867, after which he went to Pensacola, and practiced law there until his death, November 9, 1873.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Ga. R. R., Jany. 1, 1863

Enemy 2000 strong under General Carter [1] reported to have made an incursion through Pendleton Gap, to have burned the Holston and Watauga R. R. bridges, and to be at Jonesboro with design of destroying Saltville.
Suggest that arrangements be made at once to capture the incursionists by Marshall's and other available forces.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond.

(From The Daily Richmond Enquirer, Wednesday, January 7, 1863.)

THE SERENADE TO PRESIDENT DAVIS.

On Monday night last the President was serenaded, at his residence, by Captain J. B. Smith's Silver Band, the affair having been gotten up as a compliment to the President, on the occasion of his return from the West. In consequence of no public announcement of the fact having been made, the attendance was not so large as it would otherwise have been; nevertheless, a respectable audience assembled to listen to the music, and the speech it was expected to call forth.

After the Band had performed some beautiful airs, commencing with the "Mocking Bird," the President said:

I am happy to be welcomed on my return to the Capital of our Confederacy—the last hope, as I believe, for the perpetuation of that system of government which our forefathers founded—the asylum of the oppressed and the home of true representative liberty.

Here, in the ancient Commonwealth of Virginia the great principles of human government were proclaimed by your ancestors; here great battles for freedom have been fought, when

[1] Bvt. Major-General U. S. A., March 13, 1865.

the grand system they founded was attempted to be overturned by those who got possession of a government which they could not comprehend, and which, in six months, they see themselves wholly unable to administer.

Anticipating the overthrow of that Government which you had inherited, you assumed to yourselves the right, as your fathers had done before you, to declare yourselves independent, and nobly have you advocated the assertion which you have made. Here, upon your soil, some of the fiercest battles of the Revolution were fought, and upon your soil it closed by the surrender of Cornwallis. Here again are men of every State; here they have congregated, linked in the defence of a most sacred cause. They have battled, they have bled upon your soil, and it is now consecrated by blood which cries for vengeance against the insensate foe of religion as well as of humanity, of the altar as well as of the hearthstone.

You have shown yourselves in no respect to be degenerate sons of your fathers. You have fought mighty battles, and your deeds of valor will live among the richest spoils of Time's ample page. It is true you have a cause which binds you together more firmly than your fathers were. They fought to be free from the usurpations of the British Crown, but they fought against a manly foe. You fight against the offscourings of the earth. (Applause.)

Men who were bound to you by the compact which their fathers and themselves had entered into to secure to you the rights and principles not only guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, but rights which Virginia wisely and plainly reserved in her recognition of the government in which she took a part, now come to you with their hands steeped in blood, robbing the widow, destroying houses, seizing the grey-haired father, and incarcerating him in prison because he will not be a traitor to the principles of his father and the land that gave him birth.

Recently, my friends, our cause has had the brightest sunshine to fall upon it, as well in the West as in the East. Our glorious Lee, the valued son, emulating the virtues of the heroic Light-horse Harry, his father, has achieved a victory at Fredericksburg, and driven the enemy back from his last and greatest effort to get "on the Richmond." But a few, however, did get on to Richmond. (Laughter.) A few, I trust, may come from every battle field to fulfil the pledge they made that they would come to Richmond—but they will come as captives, not as conquerors. (Applause.)

In the West, too, at Murfreesboro you have gained a victory over hosts vastly superior to our own in number. You have achieved a result there as important, as brilliant as that which occurred on the soil of Virginia; and cotemporaneously at Vicksburg, where they were struggling to get possession of the great artery, the control of the Mississippi river, to answer the demands of the North West. In every combat there they have been beaten, and I trust they will be beaten in future. Out of this victory is to come that dissatisfaction in the North West, which will rive the power of that section; and thus we see in the future the dawn—first separation of the North West from the Eastern States, the discord among them which will paralyze the power of both;—then for us future peace and prosperity.

Every crime which could characterize the course of demons has marked the course of the invader. The Northern portion of Virginia has been ruthlessly desolated—the people not only deprived of the means of subsistence, but their household property destroyed, and every indignity which the base imagination of a merciless foe could suggest inflicted, without regard to age, sex or condition. In like manner their step has been marked in every portion of the Confederacy they have invaded. They have murdered prisoners of war; they have destroyed the means of subsistence of families; they have plundered the defenceless, and exerted their most malignant ingenuity to bring to the deepest destitution those whose only offence is that their husbands and sons are fighting for their homes and their liberties. In one instance, in the Northwestern part of Mississippi, I have heard of them plundering the home of a poor widow, taking her only cow, and then offering her the oath of allegiance as the terms upon which they would furnish her rations. Worthy to be a Matron of the Southern Confederacy, she refused it, and when I last heard of her, which was before the enemy was driven from her home, she was living upon parched corn. May God bless her. She is worthy to be a Matron of the Southern Confederacy. (Applause.) Every crime conceivable, from the burning of defenceless towns to the stealing of silver forks and spoons, has marked their career. In New Orleans Butler has exerted himself to earn the execrations of the civilized world, and now returns with his dishonors thick upon him to receive the plaudits of the only people on earth who do not blush to think he wears the human form. He has stolen millions of dollars in New Orleans from private citizens, although the usages of war exempt private property from taxation by the enemy. It is in keeping, however, with the character

of the people that seeks dominion over you, claim to be your masters, to try to reduce you to subjection—give up to a brutal soldiery your towns to sack, your homes to pillage and incite servile insurrection. But in the latter point they have failed save in this that they have heaped if possible a deeper distress upon themselves. They have come to disturb your social organizations on the plea that it is a military necessity. For what are they waging war? They say to preserve the Union. Can they preserve the Union by destroying the social existence of a portion of the South? Do they hope to reconstruct the Union by striking at everything which is dear to man? By showing themselves so utterly disgraced that if the question was proposed to you whether you would combine with hyenas or Yankees, I trust every Virginian would say, Give me the hyenas.—(Cries of "Good! good!" and applause.)

My friends, constant labor in the duties of office, borne down by care, and with an anxiety which has left me scarcely a moment for repose, I have had but little opportunity for social intercourse among you. I thank you for this greeting, and hope the time may come soon when you and I alike, relieved of the anxieties of the hour, may have more of social intercourse than has heretofore existed, and that I may come to participate in those quiet enjoyments that one cannot experience when his mind is constantly dwelling upon the struggles of his country. Whilst a man's sympathy is attracted by the sufferings of fellow creatures, whilst every pulse of his heart beats in response to the trials, and every thought is directed to the dangers of his country, there is little time for the cultivation of the social enjoyments that pertain to a time of peace. I can only give this as my excuse for my seldom appearance among you. I can also say, with entire sincerity, that I have nothing to regret, coupled with all the sacrifices which this struggle for the independence of our Confederacy has brought to me. I have borne my full share in the sacrifices of the people of whom I am a part, but I now feel that if they had been greater they would have served only to render me more devoted to you. (Applause.)

War is an evil in every form in which it can be presented, but it has its palliating circumstances. This is a new government, formed of independent States, each jealous of its own sovereignty. It is necessary that it should be tried in the severe crucible in which we are being tested, in order to cement us together. The enjoyments and comforts we have been compelled to renounce, the long months of deep anxiety each has felt, the unceasing labors that have tested our united energies, the sacri-

fices we have been subjected to in common, and the glory which encircles our brow has made us a band of brothers, and, I trust, we will be united forever. (Applause.)

On your soil has the blood of every State been shed—from your soil has gone home the maimed soldier, and the soldier disabled by disease, and to every State of the Confederacy has been borne the story of the hospitality of Virginians; how the kind women have nursed his wasted form and bathed his fevered brow. When in years to come arises the recollection of these kind attentions, his eyes will fill with tears of gratitude and in his heart he will bless the good women of Virginia.

By the firm friendship soldiers from different States have formed and cemented by mutual hardships and dangers; by the glory in which all alike participate; by the congeniality of thought and sentiment, which united us at first in a common destiny, and the thousand events and associations which have since tended to render us more united—by all these causes the existence of jealousies and rivalries will be prevented, and when peace and prosperity shall come to us, we will go on assisting each other to develop the great political ideas upon which our Government is based and the immense resources which nature has lavished upon us. Of the former we are awakening to an appreciation of their deep significance. In the latter direction we are displaying unexampled energy. Our mines have been made to yield up neglected wealth, and manufactories start up as if by magic. We are becoming independent in several ways. If the war continues, we shall only grow stronger and stronger as each year rolls on. Compare our condition to-day with that which existed one year ago. See the increasing power of the enemy, but mark that our own has been proportionately greater, until we see in the future nothing to disturb the prospect of the independence for which we are struggling.—One year ago many were depressed and some despondent. Now deep resolve is seen in every eye, an unconquerable spirit nerves every arm. And gentle woman, too, who can estimate the value of her services in this struggle? (Applause.) The mother who has given her son, the wife who has given her husband, the girl who has given her sweetheart, are not all their fingers busy making cloth for the troops in the field, and their words of encouragement a most [record mutilated] to the soldier? Whilst their prayers go up for the safety of a friend or relative in the field, always coupled with them is the earnest aspiration for the independence of our country. With such noble women at home,

and such heroic soldiers in the field, we are invincible. (Applause.)

I thank you my friends for the kind salutation to-night, it is an indication that at some future time we shall be better acquainted. I trust we shall all live to enjoy some of the fruits of the struggle in which we are engaged. My prayers are for your individual and collective welfare. May God prosper our cause and may we live to give to our children untarnished the rich inheritance which our Fathers gave us. Good night!

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Army N. Virginia.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, January 7, 1863

General:

I have just received the letter from Colonel Imboden,[1] altho it was dated Dec. 9th, which I forward to you with its two enclosures, in order that you may call upon the Commander of the U. S. forces and prevent the savage atrocities which are threatened, if he be disposed to enforce upon his subordinates due regard for the recognized usages of war; and to know his purpose in relation thereto, you will notify him that unless he promptly and satisfactorily responds, say, within five days,—measures will be taken by retaliation to repress the indulgence of such brutal passions as are indicated in the enclosed orders of General T. H. Milroy.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Dr. S. A. Cartwright,[2] Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 8, 1863

Commission will be sent you. Will write by mail. Genl. Johnston will indicate to you the nature of your duties.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Brigadier-General C. S. A. April 13, 1863.

[2] Dr. S. A. Cartwright, of Natchez, Miss., and New Orleans, La., a famous physician of his day; Major, M. I. to Gen. J. E. Johnston, Jan. 14, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 8, 1863

The whole or a part of *Stephensons Division* may be *sent* to *reinforce Bragg* if your opinion of affairs on *Mississippi* permits. It might serve the double purpose to *place* the *force* at *Meridian* or *Selma*. To *hold* the *Mississippi* is *vital*. The difficulty arising from the separation of *troops* of your *command* is realized but *cannot* be *avoided*.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

(Italicized words in cipher.)

Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress.

(From Messages of the President.)

RICHMOND, January 12, 1863.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States.[1]

At the date of your last adjournment the preparations of the enemy for further hostilities had assumed so menacing an aspect as to excite in some minds apprehension of our ability to meet them with sufficient promptness to avoid serious reverses. These preparations were completed shortly after your departure from the seat of government, and the armies of the United States made simultaneous advance on our frontiers on the western rivers, and on the Atlantic Coast, in masses so great as to evince their hope of overbearing all resistance by mere weight of numbers. This hope, however, like those previously entertained by our foes, has vanished. In Virginia their fourth attempt at invasion by armies whose assured success was confidently predicted has met with decisive repulse. Our noble defenders, under the consummate leadership of their general, have again, at Fredericksburg, inflicted on the forces under General Burnside the like disastrous overthrow as had been previously suffered by the successive invading armies commanded by Generals McDowell, McClellan, and Pope.

[1] Third Session. Met at Richmond, Va., January 12, 1863. Adjourned May 1, 1863.

In the West obstinate battles have been fought with varying fortunes, marked by frightful carnage on both sides; but the enemy's hopes of decisive results have again been baffled, while at Vicksburg another formidable expedition has been repulsed with considerable loss on our side and severe damage to the assailing forces. On the Atlantic Coast the enemy has been unable to gain a footing beyond the protecting shelter of his fleets, and the city of Galveston has just been recovered by our forces, which succeeded not only in the capture of the garrison, but of one of the enemy's vessels of war, which was carried by boarding parties from merchant river steamers. Our fortified positions have everywhere been much strengthened and improved, affording assurance of our ability to meet with success the utmost efforts of our enemies, in spite of the magnitude of their preparations for attack.

A review of our history during the two years of our national existence affords ample cause for congratulation and demands the most fervent expression of our thankfulness to the Almighty Father, who has blessed our cause. We are justified in asserting, with a pride surely not unbecoming, that these Confederate States have added another to the lessons taught by history for the instruction of man; that they have afforded another example of the impossibility of subjugating a people determined to be free; and have demonstrated that no superiority of numbers or available resources can overcome the resistance offered by such valor in combat, such constancy under suffering, and such cheerful endurance of privation as have been conspicuously displayed by this people in the defense of their rights and liberties. The anticipations with which we entered into the contest have now ripened into a conviction which is not only shared with us by the common opinion of neutral nations, but is evidently forcing itself upon our enemies themselves. If we but mark the history of the present year, by resolute perseverance in the path we have hitherto pursued, by vigorous effort in the development of all our resources for defense, and by the continued exhibition of the same unfaltering courage in our soldiers and able conduct in their leaders as have distinguished the past, we have every reason to expect that this will be the closing year of the war. The war, which in its inception was waged for forcing us back into the Union, having failed to accomplish that purpose, passed into a second stage, in which it was attempted to conquer and rule these States as dependent provinces. Defeated in this second design, our enemies have evidently entered upon another, which can have no other purpose than revenge and thirst for blood and

plunder of private property. But, however implacable they may be, they can have neither the spirit nor the resources required for a fourth year of a struggle uncheered by any hope of success, kept alive solely for the indulgence of mercenary and wicked passions, and demanding so exhaustive an expenditure of blood and money as has hitherto been imposed on their people. The advent of peace will be hailed with joy. Our desire for it has never been concealed. Our efforts to avoid the war, forced on us as it was by the lust of conquest and the insane passions of our foes, are known to mankind. But, earnest as has been our wish for peace and great as have been our sacrifices and sufferings during the war, the determination of this people has with each succeeding month become more unalterably fixed to endure any sufferings and continue any sacrifices, however prolonged, until their right to self-government and the sovereignty and independence of these States shall have been triumphantly vindicated and firmly established.

In this connection the occasion seems not unsuitable for some reference to the relations between the Confederacy and the neutral powers of Europe since the separation of these States from the former Union. Four of the States now members of the Confederacy were recognized by name as independent sovereignties in a treaty of peace concluded in the year 1783 with one of the two great maritime powers of Western Europe, and had been, prior to that period, allies in war of one another. In the year 1778 they formed a Union with nine other States under Articles of Confederation. Dissatisfied with that Union, three of them, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, together with eight of the States now members of the United States, seceded from it in 1789, and these eleven seceding States formed a second Union, although by the terms of the Articles of Confederation express provision was made that the first Union should be perpetual. Their right to secede, notwithstanding this provision, was neither contested by the States from which they separated nor made the subject of discussion with any third power. When at a later period North Carolina acceded to that second Union, and when, still later, the other sovereign States, now members of this Confederacy, became also members of the same Union, it was upon the recognized footing of equal and independent sovereignties; nor had it then entered into the minds of men that sovereign States could be compelled by force to remain members of a confederation into which they had entered of their own free will, if at a subsequent period the defense of their safety and honor should, in their judgment, justify withdrawal. The experience

of the past had evinced the futility of any renunciation of such inherent rights, and accordingly the provision for perpetuity contained in the Articles of Confederation of 1778 was omitted in the Constitution of 1789. When, therefore, in 1861, eleven of the States again thought proper, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, to secede from the second Union and to form a third one under an amended constitution, they exercised a right which, being inherent, required no justification to foreign nations, and which international law did not permit them to question. The usages of intercourse between nations do, however, require that official communication be made to friendly powers of all organic changes in the constitution of States, and there was obvious propriety in giving prompt assurance of our desire to continue amicable relations with all mankind. It was under the influence of these considerations that your predecessors, the Provisional Government, took early measures for sending to Europe commissioners charged with the duty of visiting the capitals of the different powers and making arrangements for the opening of more formal diplomatic intercourse. Prior, however, to the arrival abroad of those commissioners the United States had commenced hostilities against the Confederacy by dispatching a secret expedition for the reënforcement of Fort Sumter, after an express promise to the contrary, and with a duplicity which has been fully unveiled in a former message. They had also addressed communications to the different Cabinets of Europe in which they assumed the attitude of being sovereign over this Confederacy, alleging that these independent States were in rebellion against the remaining States of the Union, and threatening Europe with manifestations of their displeasure if it should treat the Confederate States as having an independent existence. It soon became known that these pretensions were not considered abroad to be as absurd as they were known to be at home, nor had Europe yet learned what reliance was to be placed on the official statements of the Cabinet at Washington.

The delegation of power granted by these States to the Federal Government to represent them in foreign intercourse had led Europe into the grave error of supposing that their separate sovereignty and independence had been merged into one common sovereignty, and had ceased to have a distinct existence. Under the influence of this error, which all appeals to reason and historical fact were vainly used to dispel, our commissioners were met by the declaration that foreign governments could not assume to judge between the conflicting representations of the two parties as to the true nature of their previous mutual re-

lations. The Governments of Great Britain and France accordingly signified their determination to confine themselves to recognizing the self-evident fact of the existence of a war, and to maintaining a strict neutrality during its progress. Some of the other powers of Europe pursued the same course of policy, and it became apparent that by some understanding, express or tacit, Europe had decided to leave the initiative in all action touching the contest on this continent to the two powers just named, who were recognized to have the largest interests involved, both by reason of proximity and of the extent and intimacy of their commercial relations with the States engaged in war. It is manifest that the course of action adopted by Europe, while based on an apparent refusal to determine the question, or to side with either party, was in point of fact an actual decision against our rights and in favor of the groundless pretensions of the United States. It was a refusal to treat us as an independent Government. If we were independent States, the refusal to entertain with us the same international intercourse as was maintained with our enemy was unjust, and was injurious in its effects, whatever may have been the motive which prompted it. Neither was it in accordance with the high moral obligations of that international code whose chief sanction is the conscience of sovereigns and the public opinion of mankind, that those eminent powers should decline the performance of a duty peculiarly incumbent on them from any apprehension of the consequences to themselves. One immediate and necessary result of their declining the responsibility of a decision which must have been adverse to the extravagant pretensions of the United States was the prolongation of hostilities to which our enemies were thereby encouraged, and which have resulted in nothing but scenes of carnage and devastation on this continent, and of misery and suffering on the other, such as have scarcely a parallel in history. Had those powers promptly admitted our right to be treated as all other independent nations, none can doubt that the moral effect of such action would have been to dispel the delusion under which the United States have persisted in their efforts to accomplish our subjugation. To the continued hesitation of the same powers in rendering this act of simple justice toward this Confederacy is still due the continuance of the calamities which mankind suffers from the interruption of its peaceful pursuits, both in the Old and the New World.

There are other matters in which less than justice has been rendered to this people by neutral Europe, and undue advantage conferred on the aggressors in a wicked war. At the inception

of hostilities the inhabitants of the Confederacy were almost exclusively agriculturists; those of the United States, to a great extent, mechanics and merchants. We had no commercial marine, while their merchant vessels covered the ocean. We were without a navy, while they had powerful fleets. The advantage which they possessed for inflicting injury on our coasts and harbors was thus counterbalanced in some measure by the exposure of their commerce to attack by private armed vessels. It was known to Europe that within a very few years past the United States had peremptorily refused to accede to proposals for abolishing privateering, on the ground, as alleged by them, that nations owning powerful fleets would thereby obtain undue advantage over those possessing inferior naval forces. Yet no sooner was war flagrant between the Confederacy and the United States than the maritime powers of Europe issued orders prohibiting either party from bringing prizes into their ports. This prohibition, directed with apparent impartiality against both belligerents, was in reality effective against the Confederate States alone, for they alone could find a hostile commerce on the ocean. Merely nominal against the United States, the prohibition operated with intense severity on the Confederacy, by depriving it of the only means of maintaining with some approach to equality its struggle on the ocean against the crushing superiority of naval force possessed by its enemies. The value and efficiency of the weapon which was thus wrested from our grasp by the combined action of neutral European powers in favor of a nation which professes openly its intention of ravaging their commerce by privateers in any future war is strikingly illustrated by the terror inspired among the commercial classes of the United States by a single cruiser of the Confederacy. One national steamer, commanded by officers and manned by a crew who are debarred, by the closure of neutral ports, from the opportunity of causing captured vessels to be condemned in their favor as prizes, has sufficed to double the rates of marine insurance in Northern ports and consign to forced inaction numbers of Northern vessels, in addition to the direct damage inflicted by captures at sea. How difficult, then, to overestimate the effects that must have been produced by the hundreds of private armed vessels that would have swept the seas in pursuit of the commerce of our enemy if the means of disposing of their prizes had not been withheld by the action of neutral Europe.

But it is especially in relation to the so-called blockade of our coast that the policy of European powers has been so shaped as

to cause the greatest injury to the Confederacy and to confer signal advantages on the United States. The importance of this subject requires some development. Prior to the year 1856 the principles regulating this subject were to be gathered from the writings of eminent publicists, the decisions of admiralty courts, international treaties, and the usages of nations. The uncertainty and doubt which prevailed in reference to the true rules of maritime law in time of war, resulting from the discordant and often conflicting principles announced from such varied and independent sources, had become a grievous evil to mankind. Whether a blockade was allowable against a port not invested by land as well as by sea; whether a blockade was valid by sea if the investing fleet was merely sufficient to render ingress to the blockaded port "evidently dangerous," or whether it was further required for its legality that it should be sufficient "really to prevent access," and numerous other similar questions had remained doubtful and undecided.

Animated by the highly honorable desire to put an end "to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts" (I quote the official language), the five great powers of Europe, together with Sardinia and Turkey, adopted in 1856 the following "solemn declaration" of principles:

1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.

2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

Not only did this solemn declaration announce to the world the principles to which the signing powers agreed to conform in future wars, but it contained a clause to which those powers gave immediate effect, and which provided that the States not parties to the Congress of Paris should be invited to accede to the declaration. Under this invitation every independent State in Europe yielded its assent—at least, no instance is known to me of refusal; and the United States, while declining to assent to the proposition which prohibited privateering, declared that the three remaining principles were in entire accordance with their own views of international law. No instance is known in history of the adoption of rules of public law under circum-

stances of like solemnity, with like unanimity, and pledging the faith of nations with a sanctity so peculiar.

When, therefore, this Confederacy was formed, and when neutral powers, while deferring action on its demand for admission into the family of nations, recognized it as a belligerent power, Great Britain and France made informal proposals about the same time that their own rights as neutrals should be guaranteed by our acceding as belligerents to the declaration of principles made by the Congress of Paris. The request was addressed to our sense of justice, and therefore met immediate favorable response in the resolutions of the Provisional Congress of the 13th of August, 1861, by which all the principles announced by the Congress of Paris were adopted as the guide of our conduct during the war, with the sole exception of that relative to privateering. As the right to make use of privateers was one in which neutral nations had, as to the present war, no interest; as it was a right which the United States had refused to abandon, and which they remained at liberty to employ against us; as it was a right of which we were already in actual enjoyment, and which we could not be expected to renounce *flagrante bello* against an adversary possessing on overwhelming superiority of naval forces, it was reserved with entire confidence that neutral nations could not fail to perceive that just reason existed for the reservation. Nor was this confidence misplaced, for the official documents published by the British Government, usually called "Blue Books," contained the expression of the satisfaction of that Government with the conduct of the officials who conducted successfully the delicate business confided to their charge.

These solemn declarations of principle—this implied agreement between the Confederacy and the two powers just named—have been suffered to remain inoperative against the menaces and outrages on neutral rights committed by the United States with unceasing and progressive arrogance during the whole period of the war. Neutral Europe remained passive when the United States, with a naval force insufficient to blockade effectively the coast of a single State, proclaimed a paper blockade of thousands of miles of coast, extending from the capes of the Chesapeake to those of Florida, and encircling the Gulf of Mexico from Key West to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Compared with this monstrous pretension of the United States, the blockades known in history under the names of the Berlin and Milan decrees and the British orders in council, in the years 1806 and 1807, sink into insignificance. Yet those blockades were justified by the powers that declared them on the sole ground

that they were retaliatory; yet those blockades have since been condemned by the publicists of those very powers as violations of international law; yet those blockades evoked angry remonstrances from neutral powers, among which the United States were the most conspicuous; yet those blockades became the chief cause of the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812; yet those blockades were one of the principal motives that led to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, in 1856, in the fond hope of imposing an enduring check on the very abuse of maritime power which is now renewed by the United States in 1861 and 1862, under circumstances and with features of aggravated wrong without precedent in history.

The records of our State Department contain the evidence of the repeated and formal remonstrances made by this Government to neutral powers against the recognition of this blockade. It has been shown by evidence not capable of contradiction, and which has been furnished in part by the officials of neutral nations, that the few ports of this Confederacy, before which any naval forces at all have been stationed, have been invested so inefficiently that hundreds of entries have been effected into them since the declaration of the blockade; that our enemies have themselves admitted the inefficiency of their blockade in the most forcible manner by repeated official complaints of the sale to us of goods contraband of war, a sale which could not possibly affect their interests if their pretended blockade was sufficient "really to prevent access to our coast;" that they have gone farther and have alleged their inability to render their paper blockade effective as the excuse for the odious barbarity of destroying the entrance to one of our harbors by sinking vessels loaded with stone in the channel; that our commerce with foreign nations has been intercepted, not by effective investment of our ports, nor by the seizure of ships in the attempt to enter them, but by the capture on the high seas of neutral vessels by the cruisers of our enemies whenever supposed to be bound to any point on our extensive coast, without inquiry whether a single blockading vessel was to be found at such point; that blockading vessels have left the ports at which they were stationed for distant expeditions, have been absent for many days, and have returned without notice either of the cessation or renewal of the blockade; in a word, that every prescription of maritime law and every right of neutral nations to trade with a belligerent, under the sanction of principles heretofore universally respected, have been systematically and persistently violated by the United States. Neutral Europe has received our remon-

strances and has submitted in almost unbroken silence to all the wrongs that the United States have chosen to inflict on its commerce. The Cabinet of Great Britain, however, has not confined itself to such implied acquiescence in these breaches of international law as result from simple inaction, but has, in a published dispatch of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed to make a change in the principle enunciated by the Congress of Paris, to which the faith of the British Government was considered to be pledged; a change too important and too prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked, and against which I have directed solemn protest to be made, after a vain attempt to obtain satisfactory explanations from the British Government. In a published dispatch from Her Majesty's Foreign Office to her Minister at Washington, under the date of 11th of February, 1862, occurs the following passage:

Her Majesty's Government, however, are of opinion that, assuming that the blockade was duly notified, and also that a number of ships are stationed and remain at the entrance of a port sufficient really to prevent access to it, *or to create an evident danger on entering it or leaving it*, and that these ships do not voluntarily permit ingress or egress, the fact that various ships may have successfully escaped through it (as in the particular instance here referred to) will not of itself prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law.

The words which I have italicized are an addition made by the British Government of its own authority to a principle the exact terms of which were settled with deliberation by the common consent of civilized nations and by implied convention with this Government, as already explained, and their effect is clearly to reopen to the prejudice of the Confederacy one of the very disputed questions on the law of blockade which the Congress of Paris professed to settle. The importance of this change is readily illustrated by taking one of our ports as an example. There is "evident danger" in entering the port of Wilmington from the presence of a blockading force, and by this test the blockade is effective. "Access is not really prevented" by the blockading fleet to the same port, for steamers are continually arriving and departing, so that tried by this test the blockade is ineffective and invalid. The justice of our complaint on this point is so manifest as to leave little room for doubt that further reflection will induce the British Government to give us such assurances as will efface the painful impressions that would result from its language if left unexplained.

From the foregoing remarks you will perceive that during nearly two years of struggle, in which every energy of our country has been evoked for maintaining its very existence, the neutral nations of Europe have pursued a policy which, nominally impartial, has been practically most favorable to our enemies and most detrimental to us. The exercise of the neutral right of refusing entry into their ports to prizes taken by both belligerents was eminently hurtful to the Confederacy. It was sternly asserted and maintained. The exercise of the neutral right of commerce with a belligerent whose ports are not blockaded by fleets sufficient really to prevent access to them would have been eminently hurtful to the United States. It was complacently abandoned. The duty of neutral States to receive with cordiality and recognize with respect any new confederation that independent States may think proper to form was too clear to admit of denial, but its postponement was eminently beneficial to the United States and detrimental to the Confederacy. It was postponed.

In this review of our relations with the neutral nations of Europe it has been my purpose to point out distinctly that this Government has no complaint to make that those nations declared their neutrality. It could neither expect nor desire more. The complaint is that the neutrality has been rather nominal than real, and that recognized neutral rights have been alternately asserted and waived in such manner as to bear with great severity on us, and to confer signal advantages on our enemy.

I have hitherto refrained from calling to your attention this condition of our relations with foreign powers for various reasons. The chief of these was the fear that a statement of our just grounds of complaint against a course of policy so injurious to our interests might be misconstrued into an appeal for aid. Unequal as we were in mere numbers and available resources to our enemies, we were conscious of powers of resistance, in relation to which Europe was incredulous, and our remonstrances were therefore peculiarly liable to be misunderstood. Proudly self-reliant, the Confederacy, knowing full well the character of the contest into which it was forced, with full trust in the superior qualities of its population, the superior valor of its soldiers, the superior skill of its generals, and above all in the justice of its cause, felt no need to appeal for the maintenance of its rights to other earthly aids, and it began and has continued this struggle with the calm confidence ever inspired in those who, with consciousness of right, can invoke the Divine blessing on their cause. This confidence has been so assured that we have

never yielded to despondency under defeat, nor do we feel undue elation at the present brighter prospect of successful issue to our contest. It is, therefore, because our just grounds of complaint can no longer be misinterpreted that I lay them clearly before you. It seems to me now proper to give you the information, and, although no immediate results may be attained, it is well that truth should be preserved and recorded. It is well that those who are to follow us should understand the full nature and character of the tremendous conflict in which the blood of our people has been poured out like water, and in which they have resisted, unaided, the shock of hosts which would have sufficed to overthrow many of the powers which, by their hesitation in according our rights as an independent nation, imply doubt of our ability to maintain our national existence. It may be, too, that if in future times unfriendly discussions not now anticipated shall unfortunately arise between this Confederacy and some European power, the recollection of our forbearance under the grievances which I have enumerated may be evoked with happy influence in preventing any serious disturbance of peaceful relations.

It would not be proper to close my remarks on the subject of our foreign relations without adverting to the fact that the correspondence between the Cabinets of France, Great Britain, and Russia, recently published, indicate a gratifying advance in the appreciation by those Governments of the true interest of mankind as involved in the war on this continent. It is to the enlightened ruler of the French nation that the public feeling of Europe is indebted for the first official exhibition of its sympathy for the sufferings endured by this people with so much heroism, of its horror at the awful carnage with which the progress of the war has been marked, and of its desire for a speedy peace. The clear and direct intimation contained in the language of the French note, that our ability to maintain our independence has been fully established, was not controverted by the answer of either of the Cabinets to which it was addressed. It is indeed difficult to conceive a just ground for a longer delay on this subject after reading the following statement of facts contained in the letter emanating from the Minister of His Imperial Majesty:

There has been established from the very beginning of this war, an equilibrium of forces between the belligerents, which has since been almost constantly maintained, and after the spilling of so much blood they are to-day in this respect in a situation which has not sensibly changed. Nothing authorizes

the prevision that more decisive military operations will shortly occur. According to the last advices received in Europe, the two armies were, on the contrary, in a condition which permitted neither to hope within a short delay advantages sufficiently marked to turn the balance definitely and to accelerate the conclusion of peace.

As this Government has never professed the intention of conquering the United States, but has simply asserted its ability to defend itself against being conquered by that power, we may safely conclude that the claims of this Confederacy to its just place in the family of nations cannot long be withheld, after so frank and formal an admission of its capacity to cope on equal terms with its aggressive foes, and to maintain itself against their attempts to obtain decisive results by arms.

It is my painful duty again to inform you of the renewed examples of every conceivable atrocity committed by the armed forces of the United States at different points within the Confederacy, and which must stamp indelible infamy not only on the perpetrators but on their superiors, who, having the power to check these outrages on humanity, numerous and well-authenticated as they have been, have not yet in a single instance of which I am aware inflicted punishment on the wrongdoers. Since my last communication to you one General McNeil murdered seven prisoners of war in cold blood, and the demand for his punishment has remained unsatisfied. The Government of the United States, after promising examination and explanation in relation to the charges made against General Benjamin F. Butler, has by its subsequent silence, after repeated efforts on my part to obtain some answer on the subject, not only admitted his guilt but sanctioned it by acquiescence, and I have accordingly branded this criminal as an outlaw, and directed his execution in expiation of his crimes if he should fall into the hands of any of our forces. Recently I have received apparently authentic intelligence of another general by the name of Milroy who has issued orders in Western Virginia for the payment of money to him by the inhabitants, accompanied by the most savage threats of shooting every recusant, besides burning his house, and threatening similar atrocities against any of our citizens who shall fail to betray their country by giving him prompt notice of the approach of any of our forces, and this subject has also been submitted to the superior military authorities of the United States with but faint hope that they will evince any disapprobation of the act. Humanity shudders at the appalling atrocities which are being daily multiplied under the sanction of those who

have obtained temporary possession of power in the United States, and who are fast making its once fair name a byword of reproach among civilized men. Not even the natural indignation inspired by this conduct should make us, however, so unjust as to attribute to the whole mass of the people who are subjected to the despotism that now reigns with unbridled license in the city of Washington a willing acquiescence in its conduct of the war. There must necessarily exist among our enemies very many, perhaps a majority, whose humanity recoils from all participation in such atrocities, but who cannot be held wholly guiltless while permitting their continuance without an effort at repression.

The public journals of the North have been received, containing a proclamation, dated on the 1st day of the present month, signed by the President of the United States, in which he orders and declares all slaves within ten of the States of the Confederacy to be free, except such as are found within certain districts now occupied in part by the armed forces of the enemy. We may well leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellowmen of all countries to pass judgment on a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race, peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere, are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation "to abstain from violence unless in necessary self-defense." Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses. So far as regards the action of this Government on such criminals as may attempt its execution, I confine myself to informing you that I shall, unless in your wisdom you deem some other course more expedient, deliver to the several State authorities all commissioned officers of the United States that may hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the States embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection. The enlisted soldiers I shall continue to treat as unwilling instruments in the commission of these crimes, and shall direct their discharge and return to their homes on the proper and usual parole.

In its political aspect this measure possesses great significance, and to it in this light I invite your attention. It affords to our whole people the complete and crowning proof of the true nature

of the designs of the party which elevated to power the present occupant of the Presidential chair at Washington and which sought to conceal its purpose by every variety of artful device and by the perfidious use of the most solemn and repeated pledges on every possible occasion. I extract in this connection as a single example the following declaration, made by President Lincoln under the solemnity of his oath as Chief Magistrate of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1861:

> Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance and as a law to themselves and to me the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:
>
> "*Resolved,* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

Nor was this declaration of the want of power or disposition to interfere with our social system confined to a state of peace. Both before and after the actual commencement of hostilities the President of the United States repeated in formal official communication to the Cabinets of Great Britain and France that he was utterly without constitutional power to do the act which he has just committed, and that in no possible event, whether the secession of these States resulted in the establishment of a separate Confederacy or in the restoration of the Union, was there any authority by virtue of which he could either restore a disaffected State to the Union by force of arms or make any change in any of its institutions. I refer especially for verification of

this assertion to the dispatches addressed by the Secretary of State of the United States, under direction of the President, to the Ministers of the United States at London and Paris, under date of 10th and 22d of April, 1861.

The people of this Confederacy, then, cannot fail to receive this proclamation as the fullest vindication of their own sagacity in foreseeing the uses to which the dominant party in the United States intended from the beginning to apply their power, nor can they cease to remember with devout thankfulness that it is to their own vigilance in resisting the first stealthy progress of approaching despotism that they owe their escape from consequences now apparent to the most skeptical. This proclamation will have another salutary effect in calming the fears of those who have constantly evinced the apprehension that this war might end by some reconstruction of the old Union or some renewal of close political relations with the United States. These fears have never been shared by me, nor have I ever been able to perceive on what basis they could rest. But the proclamation affords the fullest guarantee of the impossibility of such a result; it has established a state of things which can lead to but one of three possible consequences—the extermination of the slaves, the exile of the whole white population from the Confederacy, or absolute and total separation of these States from the United States.

This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition. It is also in effect an intimation to the people of the North that they must prepare to submit to a separation, now become inevitable, for that people are too acute not to understand a restoration of the Union has been rendered forever impossible by the adoption of a measure which from its very nature neither admits of retraction nor can coexist with union.

Among the subjects to which your attention will be specially devoted during the present session you will no doubt deem the adoption of some comprehensive system of finance as being of paramount importance. The increasing public debt, the great augmentation in the volume of the currency, with its necessary concomitant of extravagant prices for all articles of consumption, the want of revenue from a taxation adequate to support the public credit, all unite in admonishing us that energetic and wise legislation alone can prevent serious embarrassment in our mon-

etary affairs. It is my conviction that the people of the Confederacy will freely meet taxation on a scale adequate to the maintenance of the public credit and the support of their Government. When each family is sending forth its most precious ones to meet exposure in camp and death in battle, what ground can there be to doubt the disposition to devote a tithe of its income, and more, if more be necessary, to provide the Government with means for insuring the comfort of its defenders? If our enemies submit to an excise on every commodity they produce and to the daily presence of the taxgatherer, with no higher motive than the hope of success in their wicked designs against us, the suggestion of an unwillingness on the part of this people to submit to the taxation necessary for the success of their defense is an imputation on their patriotism that few will be disposed to make and that none can justify.

The legislation of your last session, intended to hasten the funding of outstanding Treasury notes, has proved beneficial, as shown by the returns annexed to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. But it was neither sufficiently prompt nor far-reaching to meet the full extent of the evil. The passage of some enactment carrying still further the policy of that law by fixing a limitation not later than the 1st of July next to the delay allowed for funding the notes issued prior to the 1st of December, 1862, will, in the opinion of the Secretary, have the effect to withdraw from circulation nearly the entire sum issued previous to the last-named date. If to this be added a revenue from adequate taxation, and a negotiation of bonds guaranteed proportionately by the several States, as has already been generally proposed by some of them in enactments spontaneously adopted, there is little doubt that we shall see our finances restored to a sound and satisfactory condition, our circulation relieved of the redundancy now productive of so many mischiefs, and our credit placed on such a basis as to relieve us from further anxiety relative to our resources for the prosecution of the war.

It is true that at its close our debt will be large; but it will be due to our own people, and neither the interest nor the capital will be exported to distant countries, impoverishing ours for their benefit. On the return of peace the untold wealth which will spring from our soil will render the burden of taxation far less onerous than is now supposed, especially if we take into consideration that we shall then be free from the large and steady drain of our substance to which we were subjected in the late Union through the instrumentality of sectional legislation and protective tariffs.

I recommend to your earnest attention the whole report of the Secretary of the Treasury on this important subject, and trust that your legislation on it will be delayed no longer than may be required to enable your wisdom to devise the proper measures for insuring the accomplishment of the objects proposed.

The operations of the War Department have been in the main satisfactory. In the report of the Secretary, herewith submitted, will be found a summary of many memorable successes. They are with justice ascribed in large measure to the reorganization and reënforcement of our armies under the operation of the enactments for conscription. The wisdom and efficacy of these acts have been approved by results, and the like spirit of unity, endurance, and self-devotion in the people, which has hitherto sustained their action, must be relied on to assure their enforcement under the continuing necessities of our situation. The recommendations of the Secretary to this effect are tempered by suggestions for their amelioration, and the subject deserves the consideration of Congress. For the perfection of our military organization no appropriate means should be rejected, and on this subject the opinions of the Secretary merit early attention. It is gratifying to perceive that under all the efforts and sacrifices of war the power, means, and resources of the Confederacy for its successful prosecution are increasing. Dependence on foreign supplies is to be deplored, and should, as far as practicable, be obviated by the development and employment of internal resources. The peculiar circumstances of the country, however, render this difficult and require extraordinary encouragements and facilities to be granted by the Government. The embarrassments resulting from the limited capacity of the railroads to afford transportation and the impossibility of otherwise commanding and distributing the necessary supplies for the armies render the control of the roads under some general supervision and resort to the power of impressment military exigencies. While such powers have to be exercised, they should be guarded by judicious provisions against perversion or abuse and be, as recommended by the Secretary, under due regulation of law.

I specially recommend in this connection some revision of the exemption law of last session. Serious complaints have reached me of the inequality of its operation from eminent and patriotic citizens whose opinions merit great consideration, and I trust that some means will be devised for leaving at home a sufficient local police without making discriminations, always to be deprecated, between different classes of our citizens.

Our relations with the Indians generally continue to be friendly. A portion of the Cherokee people have assumed an attitude hostile to the Confederate Government, but it is gratifying to be able to state that the mass of intelligence and worth in that nation have remained true and loyal to their treaty engagements. With this exception there have been no important instances of disaffection among any of the friendly nations and tribes. Dissatisfaction recently manifested itself among certain portions of them, but this resulted from a misapprehension of the intentions of the Government in their behalf. This has been removed, and no further difficulty is anticipated.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, herewith transmitted, exhibits the progress made in this branch of the public service since your adjournment, as well as its present condition. The details embraced in it are of such a nature as to render it, in my opinion, incompatible with the public interests that they should be published with this message. I therefore confine myself to inviting your attention to the information therein contained.

The report of the Postmaster General shows that during the first postal year under our Government, terminating on the 30th of June last, our revenues were in excess of those received by the former Government in its last postal year, while the expenses were greatly decreased. There is still, however, a considerable deficit in the revenues of the Department as compared with its expenses, and although the grants already made from the general Treasury will suffice to cover all liabilities to the close of the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June next, I recommend some legislation, if any can be constitutionally devised, for aiding the revenues of that Department during the ensuing fiscal year, in order to avoid too great a reduction of postal facilities. Your attention is also invited to numerous other improvements in the service recommended in the report, and for which legislation is required.

I recommend to the Congress to devise a proper mode of relief to those of our citizens whose property has been destroyed by order of the Government, in pursuance of a policy adopted as a means of national defense. It is true that full indemnity cannot now be made, but some measure of relief is due to those patriotic citizens who have borne private loss for the public good, whose property in effect has been taken for public use, though not directly appropriated. Our Government, born of the spirit of freedom and of the equality and independence of the States, could not have survived a selfish or jealous disposition, making each only careful of its own interest or safety. The fate

of the Confederacy, under the blessing of Divine Providence, depends upon the harmony, energy, and unity of the States. It especially devolves on you, their represenatives, as far as practicable, to reform abuses, to correct errors, to cultivate fraternity, and to sustain in the people a just confidence in the Government of their choice. To that confidence and to the unity and self-sacrificing patriotism hitherto displayed is due the success which has marked the unequal contest, and has brought our country into a condition at the present time such as the most sanguine would not have ventured to predict at the commencement of our struggle. Our armies are larger, better disciplined, and more thoroughly armed and equipped than at any previous period of the war. The energies of a whole nation devoted to the single object of success in this war have accomplished marvels, and many of our trials have, by a beneficent Providence, been converted into blessings. The magnitude of the perils which we encountered has developed the true qualities and illustrated the heroic character of our people, thus gaining for the Confederacy from its birth a just appreciation from the other nations of the earth. The injuries resulting from the interruption of foreign commerce have received compensation by the development of our internal resources. Cannon crown our fortresses that were cast from the products of mines opened and furnaces built during the war. Our mountain caves yield much of the niter for the manufacture of powder, and promise increase of product. From our own foundries and laboratories, from our own armories and workshops, we derive in a great measure the warlike material, the ordnance and ordnance stores which are expended so profusely in the numerous and desperate engagements that rapidly succeed each other. Cotton and woolen fabrics, shoes and harness, wagons and gun carriages are produced in daily increasing quantities by the factories springing into existence. Our fields, no longer whitened by cotton that cannot be exported, are devoted to the production of cereals and the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton. In the homes of our noble and devoted women, without whose sublime sacrifices our success would have been impossible, the noise of the loom and of the spinning wheel may be heard throughout the land. With hearts swelling with gratitude let us, then, join in returning thanks to God, and in beseeching the continuance of his protecting care over our cause and the restoration of peace with its manifold blessings to our beloved country.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 12, 1863

I have received the following dispatch from Governor Vance.

"Can you not spare General Lee to come down a few days and survey the situation in North Carolina. It would inspire confidence. A defeat here would be disastrous in more ways than one."

I send it to you to decide as to compliance with the request. Your presence there would be important, indeed seems necessary. You will know whether it be safe to absent yourself for a few days.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 12, 1863

Have received your dispatch and asked General Lee if practicable to comply with your request.
Hope soon to visit the line myself.
Now is the time for those not subject to service in C. S. Army to come forward for a short period to aid in defence of the State.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 14, 1863

I have given no other authority to trade with New Orleans or Memphis unless it be that given to the Govr. of Missi. to obtain salt.
Contracts of the War Dept. if fulfilled might involve the evil of which you refer.

To correct any error report fully the case to Secty. of War. In the meantime proceed as you propose to stop the trade, except as to articles which have been delivered under contract and for which payment is due.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Van Dorn, Grenada, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 14, 1863

W. T. Martin[1] and W. H. Jackson[2] had been appointed before receipt of dispatch.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to H. W. Mercer.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Jany. 15, 1863.

Brig. Genl. H. W. Mercer,
Savannah, Ga.,

My Dear General:

I have received your note of the 7th inst. in reference to the application to the War Dept. for the promotion of your son.

You are right in supposing that you possess my regard and friendship and that I would gladly avail myself of any proper opportunity to promote the interests of yourself or any member of your family.

Under the rules and regulations of the service, your Adjt. Genl. is entitled only to the rank of Captain. To depart from those rules in one case, and that of the son of an old friend and classmate would be subject to a construction which I am sure would not be willingly encountered by yourself.

With my best wishes for your happiness, I am

Very truly,
Your friend

(Signed) JEFFSN. DAVIS

[1] Major-General C. S. A. Nov. 12, 1863, of Natchez, Miss.
[2] Brigadier-General C. S. A. April 22, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 15, 1863

For the present all which seems practicable is to select a strong position and fortifying it to wait for attack. Should the enemy attempt to pass you with his whole force, your chances will be even better. If I could furnish reinforcements to your glorious army which would enable them to crown the recent victory, it would at once be done. To send forward absentees and recruits should be vigorously pressed as the best reliance for additional force.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. G. W. Lee,[1] Atlanta, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 16, 1863

Your dispatch of yesterday received, and referred to the Secty. of War. with authority to comply with your request in relation to organization of cavalry. One hundred and fifty (150) cavalry were ordered from Chattanooga to report to you, and the Govr. of Georgia has promised to send you Infantry reinforcements. I hope you will be able to maintain order and give adequate protection to the citizens.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mr. F. L. Dancey, Buena Vista, Florida

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 20, 1863

Dear Sir:

Your letter in reference to the abandonment and loss to the enemy of the battery on St. John's River has remained unanswered thus long because received upon the eve of my departure from Richmond upon a visit to the South West.

I had not before seen so full an account of the circumstances of the case, and beg you to accept my thanks for the particularity of your statements.

[1] Lt. Col. 25th Battalion Georgia Cavalry (Provost Battalion, Atlanta, Ga.)

I have submitted your letter to the perusal of General Cooper.

Florida regiments in Virginia and elsewhere have uniformly acted with gallantry and have received the applause of their commanding Generals.

The bad conduct of the garrison at the battery can only be explained therefore in the manner in which you account for it. The loss of the position was a serious calamity, but it is to be hoped that we shall be enabled not only to prevent further encroachments of the enemy but soon to regain the whole of the territory now occupied by them

Very truly your friend
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to E. Sparrow.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Tuesday Morning,
January 20, 1863.

Hon. E. Sparrow,
C. S. Senate,
Dear Sir:

Your note expressing a preference for the assignment of Genl. E. Kirby Smith to the command of the Department of Louisiana and Texas reached me after orders had been given in the case.

The great and well earned reputation of Genl. E. K. Smith, the officer selected, gives us every reason to expect the best results from his assignment to the new field.

I regret that I did not sooner know your preferences in the matter, as it was my desire to secure public confidence, and I advised with you for that among other reasons before the selection was made.

Very truly your friend,
(Signed) JEFFSN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to S. D. Richardson, Tangipahoa, La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 21, 1863

No authority has been given by myself or Secretary of War to take cotton to New Orleans for the Confederate Government.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Edward Sparrow, Confederate Senator from Louisiana.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

Mobile, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 21, 1863

I wish you with the least delay to proceed to the Head Quarters of General Braggs Army. You will find explanatory letter at Chattanooga.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jany. 21, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to call upon your Excellency, in accordance with an Act passed by the Legislature of Virginia, Oct. 3, 1862, for Four thousand (4000) negroes to be employed upon fortifications in this State.

Herewith are transmitted for your consideration the letters of Col. Gilmer and the Secty. of War stating the necessity for a further supply of labor for fortifications, and enumerating the counties and corporations upon which it is suggested the draft be made.

Very respectfully,
Yr. obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 22, 1863

General:

As announced in my telegram, I address this letter to you to explain the purpose for which I desire that you will proceed promptly to the Hd. Qrs. of Genl. Bragg's Army. The events connected with the late battle at Murfreesboro and retreat from that place have led to criticisms upon the conduct of General Bragg, which induced him to call upon the Com-

manders of Corps for an expression of opinion, and for information as to the feeling in their commands, in regard to the conduct of General Bragg, and, also, whether he had so far lost the confidence of the Army as to impair his usefulness in his present position. The answers, I am informed, have been but partially given, but are so far indicative of a want of confidence such as is essential to success. Why General Bragg should have selected that tribunal and have invited its judgments upon him, is to me unexplained. It manifests, however, a condition of things which seems to me to require your presence. The enemy is said to be preparing to advance and though my confidence in General Bragg is unshaken, it cannot be doubted that, if he is distrusted by his officers and troops, a disaster may result which but for that cause would have been avoided. You will, I trust, be able, by conversation with General Bragg, and others of his command, to decide what the best interests of the service require, and to give me the advice which I need at this juncture. As that army is a part of your command, no order will be necessary to give you authority there, as, whether present or absent, you have a right to direct its operations, and do whatever else belongs to the General Commanding.

Very respectfully and Truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 22, 1863

General:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 19th covering correspondence with Genl. Halleck, and am pleased at the manner in which you presented the matter which had been submitted to you in connection with the atrocities of Milroy. If Genl. Halleck should fulfil his promise, information recently received here does not permit me to doubt that he will have no opportunity to escape on the ground that Milroy has not executed his barbarous threats.

Yours of the 21st has also been received, and after reading it my opinion is that you would not be justified at this time in making further detachments from your command. Should the enemy succeed in crossing the river, either above or be-

low the long line occupied by you, at the same time holding a strong reserve opposite to Fredericksburg, it would make your retrograde movement, for the purpose of attacking the force he had thrown over, hazardous, by all the difficulties which would attend the exposure both of your flank and rear. The rain which is now falling must render the roads in that region impracticable for heavy artillery, and it may be that the movements which are observed are only changes of position for the establishment of winter cantonments. We have nothing from No. Car. to develop the purposes of the enemy there, and it may well be that the late storms have interfered with his programme, if it all tended to an attack upon Wilmington. Intelligence from Tennessee is less cheering that we have had anticipated, except that the cavalry is still successful against the enemy's shipping.

As ever your friend
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 27, 1863

The letter was mailed on the twenty second. If not received, proceed as mentioned in the despatch.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 27, 1863

Sir:

I have received and read with interest your letter enclosing a copy of an Act and Joint Resolution of the Legislature of Georgia, partially prohibiting the cultivation of cotton in the State during the continuance of the war, and urging upon planters the necessity for increased attention to the production of provisions.

The inauguration of this policy affords me great gratification.

This prompt and emphatic expression by the Legislature of the sentiment of the people of Georgia, it is to be hoped, will be met by the concurrent action of the other States upon the

subject; and from the general adoption of the scheme we may anticipate the best results.

The possibility of a short supply of provisions presents the greatest danger to a successful prosecution of the war. If we shall be able to furnish adequate subsistence to the Army during the coming season, we may set at defiance the worst efforts of our enemy. A general compliance by the farmers and planters, therefore, with the suggestions of this Joint Resolution, will be the guarantee of our independence.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 27, 1863

Sir:

Your letter of the 15th inst., enclosing a petition from the ladies of Ramah, Ala., asking that Dr. C. B. Holman may be exempted from enrolment for military service, has been received.

The practical control of the subject of exemption has been left to the Secretary of War, under general rules adopted for its regulation. I have therefore referred your letter to his attention.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 27, 1863

Sir:

Your letter forwarding a copy of the Joint Resolution of the Legislature of Alabama, expressing readiness to unite with the other States in guaranteeing the debt of the Confederate Government proportionally to representation in Congress, has been received.

I regard this as a most important step and feel grateful for its initiation.

That the Government may be enabled to conduct the war to a speedy and honorable peace, it must have ample means

and credit, and our financial system cannot fail to acquire stability from the policy you have inaugurated.

Alabama has thus given another proof of the zeal and determination which have characterized her in the prosecution of the war for independence, and it is to be hoped that the other States will pursue the same course in reference to the public debt.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. B. Magruder, Galveston, Texas.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 28, 1863

My Dear Sir:

I am much gratified at the receipt of your letter of Jany. 6th conveying to me the details of your brilliant exploit in the capture of Galveston and the vessels in the harbor. The boldness of the conception and the daring and skill of its execution were crowned by results substantial as well as splendid. Your success has been a heavy blow to the enemy's hopes, and I trust will be vigorously and effectively followed up. It is to be hoped that your prudence and tact will be as successful in allaying domestic discontents as your military ability in retrieving our position on the Texas Coast.

Your suggestions will receive the favorable consideration due to you.

The congratulations I tender to you and your brave army are felt by the whole country. I trust your achievement is but the precursor of a series of successes which may redound to the glory and honor of yourself and our country.

Very respectfully & truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (By Genl. J. C. Tappan)

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Jan. 28, 1863

My Dear Sir:

I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the departure of Genl. Tappan to acknowledge yours of the 29th ult. Since that date, I have heard nothing more of the reported advance

of the enemy upon Van Buren, and trust it may have been checked by some one of the many causes which seem to me to render the march almost impracticable. I regret very much to observe the increase of disease among your troops, and even more, that desertions have become so frequent. I had hoped that the liberal provisions understood to have been made by the State Legislature would to a great extent have relieved the suffering of the poor, and have quieted the anxiety of the soldiers in regard to the condition of their families. The extortion of which you complain can not be wholly suppressed, but it has seemed to me might best be restrained by State legislation. Prices must always be regulated by the relation of supply and demand, and no law which can be devised can change the effect which will be produced in the enhancement of the price of food where the amount to be sold is too small for the number of consumers. To attempt the remedy which you propose, would create dissatisfaction with the Government, and by destroying the affection and confidence of the people would substitute a greater evil than that for which you propose martial law as a remedy. Congress has, under certain conditions, conferred the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and where suspended, the power of a General to govern by camp regulations would be temporarily increased by the suspension of the ordinary remedies of law against false imprisonment; but neither the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus nor the declaration of martial law, which is the establishment of camp regulations over a place or district, would compel persons having supplies to offer them for sale or transport them to the consumers. Many complaints were made against the attempt to subject the people of Arkansas to a military police. The effort was certainly unwise, and no doubt much of your embarrassment has resulted from the necessity of restoring things to their normal condition. A people called upon to sacrifice everything in resistance to usurpation and oppression should always have before them unmistakeable evidence of a strict regard for their rights on the part of those who invoke their assistance. I rely upon your sound judgment as well as upon your kind temper to unite the people and to make all the resources of the country tributary to the success of the great work which has been entrusted to you.

I have considered your remarks in relation to the proposition to reinforce Genl. Pemberton. If you are correct as to the consequences which would follow, you have properly ex-

ercised the discretion which was entrusted to you. The view I then took of the matter was that you might be attacked by the enemy advancing from the Mississippi river, but that no larger force could be sent over land against the Northwestern portion of Arkansas, that we had therefore more troops in the latter region than were necessary, and if you had enough on the Arkansas and White rivers, that some might be spared. That was a question which you could better decide on the spot than I at a distance, and therefore it was submitted to you.

We have lately received through the Yankee papers an account of the capture of the Post of Arkansas, but as we have nothing from your army, I yet cling to the hope so great a disaster has not befallen us and this hope is sustained by the knowledge that the enemy have been for some time assembling a large army on the lower Mississippi to renew the attack upon Vicksburg. The troops in upper Louisiana have so far, as I can learn, done nothing to impede the operations of the enemy, not even to protect the railroad communication from Vicksburg to Monroe so essential to the efficiency of your command, and to co-operation between the armies east and west of the Mississippi river. The loss of either of the two positions,—Vicksburg and Port Hudson—would destroy communication with the Trans-Mississippi Department and inflict upon the Confederacy an injury which I am sure you have not failed to appreciate.

General Kirby Smith has been sent to take command of the Department to be composed of Louisiana and Texas. The kind relations which exist between you, though not necessary to either of you to insure a cordial co-operation, will nevertheless contribute to make your intercourse pleasant and your co-intelligence complete. I am looking anxiously for further information in relation to affairs in Arkansas, and hopeful that the Missourians, reported to be coming out in large numbers, are steadily increasing the strength of your army. I still look forward to those successes which I am sure, with a fair opportunity, you will achieve, and to the day, when Arkansas secure, you may advance into Missouri and compel the enemy to look to the defence of the upper Mississippi instead of the conquest of the lower portion of its valley.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 29, 1863

Has anything or can anything be done to obstruct the navigation from Yazoo Pass down?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Sir: Richmond, Jan. 30, 1863

I invite your attention to the enclosed communications from several members of Congress and of the Legislature, in reference to the propriety of exempting certain counties from my recent call upon you for slaves to work upon fortifications.

Convinced that you can, much better than myself, decide upon the merits of the case, it is referred to you, with the assurance that I will acquiesce in your judgment upon the subject and cheerfully withdraw any call you may deem inexpedient.

Very respectfully yr. obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.
Fredericksburg, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jan. 30, 1863

Suspend the execution of John Edwards sentenced to be shot tomorrow (Jany. 31), for desertion.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. C. Pemberton, Vicksburg, Missi.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Jany. 31, 1863

Your dispatches of yesterday received. Adjt. General will attend to your request in relation to Col. Higgins.
Do your heavy guns command canal?
Have enemy's transports gone up the river?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

G. W. C. Lee to R. E. Lee.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., Jany. 31, 1863

Genl. R. E. Lee,
Comdg. &c near Fredericksburg,

General:

The President desires me to explain his telegram of last evening directing the suspension of the execution of John Edwards sentenced to be shot this day (Jany. 31) for desertion.

His Excellency received on yesterday a petition from the prisoner asking time to produce evidence in palliation of his offence, together with one affidavit to that effect; and therefore wishes the prisoner to be allowed a reasonable time to produce any proper evidence he can obtain in relation to his case.

I have the honor to be &c.

G. W. C. Lee
Col. &c.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham,[1] Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feb. 4, 1863

Your telegram received and attended to. Prompt action has been taken.

You will be advised more particularly by letter.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

[1] Bonham, Milledge Luke (1813-1890), a soldier and political leader, was born in Edgefield district, South Carolina, December 25, 1813, graduated from the University of South Carolina in 1834, studied law and commenced practice in Edgefield in 1837. He served in the Seminole and Mexican wars, attained the rank of colonel August 12, 1847. He was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1857, to December 21, 1860. Entering the Confederate service, he was commissioned brigadier general April 19, 1861; resigned to enter the Confederate Congress January 27, 1862; was governor of South Carolina, 1862-1864; was again commissioned brigadier general January, 1865, and served until the close of the war. He was state railroad commissioner from 1878 until his death at White Sulphur Springs, N. C., August 27, 1890.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Gov. S. Carolina.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feb. 4, 1863

Dear Sir:

Upon the information contained in your telegram of yesterday and in response to the request of the House of Representatives, action has been taken to provide reinforcement for the defence of Charleston. General Whiting has been ordered to send one brigade immediately and to hold another ready for transportation. General French has been ordered to supply force withdrawn from General Whiting as far as is safe and he has replied that it shall be done. Other troops will be placed in best position to furnish force promptly to the point of real and heaviest attack and to defend them all. With great respect,

Your obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

G. W. C. Lee to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.
Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 4, 1863

General:

The President desires me to inform you in regard to affairs on our southern and eastern coast, as far as is known here.

General Beauregard telegraphs, that, on the 30th & 31st ult., gunboats and transports, laden with men, munitions and horses, left the harbor of Beaufort, N. C., steering south, and are supposed to be destined for Charleston or Savannah. General Beauregard thinks their destination is Savannah, from recent demonstrations there.

News has been received, to-day, from the Governor of So. Carolina and from Charleston to the effect, that the Ironsides and other ironclads are off the port of Charleston, that the British War Steamer, Cadmus, has taken on board the English Consul and family, and that the blockading vessels are all outside Charleston bar. Governor Bonham thinks from these indications that an attack will be made on Charleston within forty eight hours.

General Beauregard wants back the troops which he sent to reinforce Wilmington, and more. General Whiting has been

ordered to send him one brigade and to have a second in readiness to move at a moment's notice, and General French has been directed to supply from his command troops to take the places of those sent from Wilmington.

General French's remaining force will not be adequate to guard the southern line of R. R. communication; and as he can only be reinforced from your army, the President wishes you to consider the subject and advise him thereon.

The Governor of So. Carolina has retained for 30 days the State reserve of about 6000 men.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
(Signed) G. W. C. Lee
Col. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Col. A. C. Myers, Q. M. Genl., Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feb. 5, 1863

Sir:

The enclosed slip cut from a morning paper is sent to you for your attention.[1]

If the abuse described exists it should be promptly corrected and the offenders held to a due responsibility. If the statement be incorrect it is due to yourself and the service that the misstatement should be exposed.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Edw. Sparrow, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 5, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 31st of January, the presentation of which was accidentally

[1] (Slip from Examiner)

"Plenty of Clothing for the Troops."

"It will be seen from the report of the Q.M.Gen., sent to the Confederate Senate by the President in reply to certain resolutions recently adopted by that body, that officers of the Army are allowed to purchase fabrics from the Government clothing bureau when the stock on hand is in excess of the wants of the private soldiers in the field. We take it that the stock of clothing material now on hand is superabundant, as officers of the army may be daily seen at the merchant tailor establishments on Main Street, selling at an advance of from one to two hundred per cent. the cloth obtained by them from the clothing bureau."

delayed until today. I now hasten to reply to the inquiries submitted.

Railroad connection between Port Hudson, La., and Jackson, Missi., would at this time be of great importance to the public defence. It may be safely stated that the facility it would afford for using a reserve either at Vicksburg or at Port Hudson, as one or the other should be attacked, would be equal in value to ten thousand men. In reflecting upon this subject some time since, the difficulty which presented itself was the want of railroad iron. The distance from the New Orleans and Jackson road to Clinton is I think about equal to that from Clinton to Port Hudson. Over the last-mentioned part a very inferior railroad exists, and new rails would be requisite to render it efficient for heavy transportation. From Clinton to the Jackson Railroad, as far as I am advised, there will be very little difficulty of profile and there is abundance of material except the iron rails. Without a survey and estimate, I can express no opinion as to the cost or time of construction. Upon the latter would very much depend the value of the work as connected with military operations. If the requisite supply of iron could be immediately obtained, I should deem it proper that the work should be at once commenced, and vigorously pressed to completion. A plank road would not answer the purpose to be attained by the rapid transmission of troops, and would require so much time in its construction that I do not think the advantages to be derived from it would compensate for the expenditure involved.

Very respectfully
Yr. obt. svt.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 6, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a communication from Hon. J. R. Chambliss & others, with endorsement by Col. Gilmer & the Secretary of War, in reference to the exemption of Greensville Co. from the call for slaves to work on fortifications, made on the 21st ult., and to ask of your Excellency such action in the case as in your judgment may be proper.

Very respectfully & truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 7, 1863

If the 1st corps of Reserves are not disbanded, but are still organized in regiments, constituting a part of the militia of the State, can you not as commander in chief of the militia of the State bring them again in the field to aid in repelling the invader?

The officers either field or company who may be liable to conscription will be allowed for the time to remain in command to avoid the delay of reorganization by new elections.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. (7) 1863

Whatever can be done to defend South Carolina will be performed by the C. S. Govt. I am disappointed at the discharge of the regiments of State troops serving at Charleston, and hope the militia not subject to conscription will be organized as rapidly as your circumstances will permit.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

G. W. C. Lee, to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feb. 10, 1863

Sir:

By direction of the President, I have the honor to transmit a letter from the Secty of War, enclosing a communication from the Engineer Bureau, giving a list of the counties of Virginia in which it is recommended a further reduction be made in the call on them for slave labor, and to request such action in the matter as your Excellency may deem proper.

Very respectfully &c.

(Signed) G. W. C. LEE,
Col. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. H. Marshall, Estillville, Scott Co. Va. via Abingdon, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 13, 1863

Send on orders under which as you state in your letter you are forbidden to advance in Kentucky. I wish to know its exact character and by whom issued.

Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 17, 1863

It is necessary for intelligent action here that exact information should be possessed of your forces and their position and that this would be furnished from time to time at least every ten days.

Reinforcements have been sent and whatever is requisite will be furnished as far as practicable.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. M. L. Smith, Vicksburg, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 19, 1863

Is the river still rising? Has it yet overflowed the bank opposite Vicksburg?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 19, 1863

General:

Yours of the 3rd and 12th have been received and considered. I regret that the confidence of the superior officers in Genl. Bragg's fitness for command has been so much im-

paired. It is scarcely possible in that state of the case for him to possess the requisite confidence of the troops. However truly it may be desired by them, their distrust cannot be concealed. Staff officers will reflect the opinions and feelings of their chief, and gradually the impression must be communicated to the whole army. I am truly gratified at the language of commendation which you employ in relation to Genl. Bragg, and at the cheering account you give of the condition and increasing strength of the Army of Tennessee. When I visited the Army there was no visible sign of discontent with the commander, and I had hoped that the dissatisfaction created by the events of the Kentucky campaign had given way before calm review of all which had occurred.

It is not given to all men of ability to excite enthusiasm and to win the affection of their troops, and it is only the few who are thus endowed who can overcome the distrust and alienation of their principal officers. No one more readily than General Bragg would surrender a desirable position to promote the public interest, and I have not feared any hesitation on his part if he should find that he could better serve his country by a change of position. With the confidence I feel in his ability and zeal, you will readily understand the difficulty I find in the question of substitution. You limit the selection to a new man, and in terms very embarrassing to me, object to being yourself the immediate commander. I had felt the importance of keeping you free to pass from Army to Army in your Dept. so as to be present wherever most needed, and to command in person wherever present. When you went to Tullahoma, I considered your arrival placed you, for as long a period as you should remain there, in the immediate command of that Army, and that your judgment would determine the duration of your stay. You have borne no part in the investigation of the statements made in relation to the command of General Bragg, other than that which seems to me appropriate to your position of Comdg. General of all the forces of the Dept. The removal of Genl. Bragg would only affect you in so far as it deprived you of his services and might restrain your freedom of movement by requiring more of your attention to that Army, therefore I do not think that your personal honor is involved, as you could have nothing to gain by the removal of General Bragg. You shall not be urged by me to any course which would wound your sensibility or views of professional propriety, though you will perceive

how small is the field of selection if a new man is to be sought whose rank is superior to that of the Lieut. Generals now in Tenn. I will expect to hear further from you on this subject.

The condition of affairs in Missi. and La. excites continued anxiety and I am sorry to learn that you have not as full communication from General Pemberton as is desirable. If circumstances permit, a visit from you might be serviceable to the defence of Vicksburg and its approaches. The rise of the river has probably checked any further work on the canal, but it has also opened the line of the Yazoo Pass, and if it has not been sufficiently obstructed may enable the enemy to come down the Tallahatchie and get in rear of our position. Nothing has been heard of the plan proposed and which should have been executed before this date for the recapture of the city of ..... You will have observed the success of the gunboats in passing the batteries at Vicksburg. They will destroy a necessary navigation unless they can be captured, which may be possible by boarding when they land.

The enemy are leaving the Rappahannock, and may design from present indications a change of their line of operations to the south side of James River.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 19, 1863

Your dispatch of the 18th received. Secretary of War will give instructions and write to you on the subject.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. H. Marshall, Estillville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 19, 1863

Dear Sir:

Your letters of February 2nd and 7th are before me, and I have to thank you for the topographical minutiae with which you have furnished me. The campaign in Kentucky and the

attack on our R. R. show the error of the former limits whether to advance or defend the railroad communications. The corner of Virginia, lying between Tennessee and Kentucky, should be under the commander of those contiguous and embracing sections. The county lines were adopted for convenience of administration, and may be changed for military reasons.

The difficulty of a commander in giving satisfaction has been realized, but the creation of a separate department would not remove it, nor is it plain to me that such a step would ensure more effective use of the means within our control, or greater unity of purpose and action among commanders.

You allude to some course of policy for the relief of Kentucky heretofore set forth by you and rejected by me. I do not know to what you allude, but certainly no opposition has been made to the occupation of any part of Kentucky by you as will clearly appear by reference to my letters and telegrams. In the conduct of military operations in the various districts occupied by our forces a large discretionary power is necessarily vested in the several Department commanders. The expedition to which you refer by Brig. Genl. Pegram was directed by the Comdg. Genl. in Tennessee, in conformity with the general views of the administration, and the route pursued is supposed to have been indicated by the existing condition of the enemy.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Franklin Gardner,[1] Port Hudson via Jackson, Mississippi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feb. 23, 1863

H. R. Davis of Wilkinson County complains that in the use of negro laborers on the works at Port Hudson an unjust

[1] Gardner, Franklin (1823-1873), a soldier, was born in the State of New York in 1823, removed with his family to Iowa, graduated at West Point in 1843, and was assigned to the infantry. He served in the Mexican War, participated in many of the engagements and was brevetted captain for gallantry in the battle of Cerro Gordo. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of infantry in the Confederate Army. He was promoted brigadier general in time to command a brigade at Shiloh, and was promoted major-general in December, 1862, and placed in command at Port Hudson, which he stubbornly defended, but was forced to surrender. After his exchange he was assigned to duty in Mississippi under General Dick Taylor. After the war he settled as a planter near Vermilionville, La., and there died April 29, 1873.

discrimination against him has been made by an Agent, I. C. Miller.

Inquire into the case that he may not be unequally burdened and that your agent may be required to act equitably and courteously towards the citizens who are called on to contribute for the public defence.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis, Woodville, Mississippi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feb. 23, 1863

General Gardner has been directed to enquire into your case, to prevent unequal burden, and to require his Agent to act equitably and courteously towards citizens called on for contributions.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Feby. 24, 1863

Though the proposed term is but half of that authorized by Confederate Law, the militia if sent armed and equipped will be accepted as tendered.

The pressing necessity of the case calls for the greatest dispatch.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 24, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a letter from the Secty. of War, enclosing recommendation from Engineer Bureau, to reduce the call on Bath Co., for slaves to work on fortifications, and to ask of your Excellency such action in the case as may seem to you right and proper.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. H. V. Johnson,[1] Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

My Dear Sir: Richmond, Feb. 24, 1863

In reply to yours of yesterday, I must first say that we differ as to the intent of the laws bearing on the nomination of Lieut. Pollock. You treat the case as if arising under the Act of 16th March 1861, which by the terms "had resigned" &c seems to me to have no reference to officers who should thereafter resign. I found authority to make the nomination to a position above the foot of the Navy list in the Act of May 20th 1861, which is prospective, but in which nothing is said about the "relative rank," but on the other hand, restricts the appointment to the same rank and position held in U. S. service. To give a naval or marine officer a position in his former service and the same rank (grade) which he then held, is the scope of this second Act. No provision being made for ante-dating commission, the effect which it would seem was designed was to secure to those who came before the first Act the benefit of one date, and leave the other class to take position according to the time of their joining in their several grades. It was not necessary for the Secretary to have specified the foot of the 1st Lieutenants—that was necessarily the position of the youngest by commission.

It is always disagreeable to an officer to lose relative rank, but it would be unjust to deprive an officer of the position gained by early service in our struggle. That the late arrival of Lieut. Pollock was regarded as a misfortune, not a fault, is evinced by the fact that he was nominated to be a 1st Lieutenant, the same rank he held in the U. S. service.

I had every disposition to concur with you and no willingness to wound the sensibility of your friend. The law and the equity as regarded by me dictated the course adopted.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Johnson, Herschel Vespasian (1812-1880), a political leader, was born in Burke County, Georgia, September 18, 1812, graduated at Franklin College in 1834, studied law and began practising at Augusta He removed about 1840 to Milledgeville; was U. S. Senator from February 4, 1848, to March 3, 1849, filling out the unexpired term of Walter T. Colquitt; was governor of Georgia, 1853-1857; candidate for vice-president on the Douglas ticket in 1860, and a Senator from Georgia in the Second Confederate Congress. In 1864 he began a movement for peace on the basis of State sovereignty, and had a conference with President Johnson. In 1866 he was elected to the United States Senate, but was not allowed to sit. From 1873 to his death he was on the circuit bench. He died in Jefferson County, Ga., August 16, 1880.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feby. 25, 1863

My dear Sir:

Your letter of February 20th and telegram of the 24th were received this morning. The previous telegram with regard to the acceptance of the militia was replied to by telegraph yesterday.

The camp equipage and subsistence required by the troops called out will be furnished by the Confederate officers.

The importance of retaining a sufficient number of men at their homes for the planting of the grain crops is fully realized. It must be determined by your discretion whether it will be desirable to order the youths under 18 years to the field. It would be well to proceed with the organization as rapidly as possible, that the largest practicable number of troops may be ready to go into service should the necessity require. Of this the Comdg. Genl. of the Dept. will be able to advise you, and by keeping in communication with him, you may have the earliest information of any emergency that may occur.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes, Trans-Missi. Dept.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Feb. 26, 1863

General:

Your letter borne by Mr. Holmes was duly received, and the sad condition of things in Arkansas is the more painful because of our little ability to correct it. When I possessed the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, I sent you the requisite authority, and, with the camp regulations which you had power to establish, hoped it would avail somewhat to repress the violent disturbance, the increase of which you describe. From your letter I infer that authority did not reach you, and now the power conferred upon me by Congress has expired by its own limitation. If another Act should be passed, again investing me with power to suspend the writ, I will again act under it. In the meantime the arrangement which you have made, will, I hope, effect much to sup-

press the disorders, which, in the absence of civil tribunals for the punishment of crime, certainly leaves the good people in a condition greatly to be deplored.

In conjunction with the arrangements for military defence, you will not fail to appreciate the importance of using all practicable means to promote the cultivation of the land, and the production of the supplies necessary as well to support the people of the State as to maintain the Army serving in it. The withdrawal of the enemy from the post of Arkansas enables you to revise previously adopted plans for the defence of that line of approach, whether by works upon the banks of the Arkansas river, and obstructions and torpedoes in the stream, or otherwise, as may be most feasible. If we lose the valley of the Arkansas I fear we shall not be able to obtain the supplies hereafter necessary to occupy the Northern part of the State, and carry operations into or across Missouri. It is therefore of vital importance that the enemy should not be permitted to ascend the Arkansas and White Rivers, and that such security should be given as will induce the planters of the valley to re-occupy and cultivate their fields.

Since my last letter to you, General Kirby Smith was ordered to proceed to the command of the Dept. to be composed of Louisiana and Texas. Subsequently hearing of the fall of the post of Arkansas, the enemy's ascent of White River, and the retreat of our forces from the N. W. portion of the State, it was deemed advisable to re-establish the unity of the Trans-Mississippi Dept. at least for the present, and General Smith, as the ranking officer, will during the continuance of this latter organization, command the Department. I need hardly say that this has been done from no want of confidence in you, but I may say that it was not in compliance with your wish to have some commander substituted for yourself, and that I hope, in the progress of events, that we shall be able to carry out the other purpose of two Departments west of the Missi., and that you will yet be able, re-occupying the whole of Arkansas, and placing it in safety, to advance to the redemption of Missouri. You have later information than I can give you of events on the Lower Mississippi. I am aware that the present stage of the river is unfavorable to the operation of field batteries against transports, and am quite sure that you will not neglect any opportunity which may offer to embarrass the enemy by operations against his river transportation. It is reported here that the enemy are attempting to open lateral

channels from the Missi., so as to pass into the Tensas and Bayou Macon. I do not think either of these practicable, but, to guard against possibilities, it might be well to have obstructions, such as rafts made of felled timber, thrown into those streams, below the points where the artificial channels would enter them. Your knowledge of the country will enable you to suggest to Genl. Smith whatever may be advisable in this connection.

I hope you will soon be supplied with the requisite funds for which estimates have been received, and that with the close of the winter the sickness in your army will disappear, and that you may yet be able to carry out the plans heretofore devised, so that all past disappointments will be swallowed up in future success.

As ever,
Very truly your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 4, 1863

Did I when in Murfreesboro appoint Col. E. C. Walthall[1] Brig. Genl.?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 4, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, for such action as may seem to you proper, a recommendation from Col. Gilmer,[2] Chief of Engr. Bureau approved by Secty. of War, to reduce the call made on Corporation of Danville for slaves to work on fortifications.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] (1813-1898.) Major-General C. S. A.; United States Senator from Mississippi, 1885-1894, 1895-1898.

[2] Col. J. F. Gilmer, chief engineer at Richmond.

Jefferson Davis to Shelton F. Leake.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 7, 1863.

Hon. Shelton F. Leake,
Charlottesville, Va.,
My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 6th of Decr. last, covering one from Mr. Secretary Seddon, and another from Judge Robertson in relation to the appointment of Post Commissary at Charlottesville, Va., was received by me on the day of its date; and was immediately referred to the Commissary General of Subsistence to be read by him and returned with remarks on the case as shown by the Record.

In response to this call the commissary general has reported the facts, which cover as well your first letter referred to Mr. Secy. Randolph with my endorsements, as the letters above referred to.

For your information I enclose a copy of the Report which I trust will be satisfactory; and regret that my desire to comply with your request was unavailing on account of the facts therein stated.

Most respectfully
Yours &c.
(Signed) JEFFSN. DAVIS.

Guy M. Bryan[2] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Waco, Texas March 9th 1863.

Confidential.

Sir,

I take the liberty of informing you of the condition of affairs in this State.

There is a growing feeling of discontent among the people at what is regarded as "the unwarranted exercise of powers by

[1] Shelton F. Leake, son of Samuel Leake of Albemarle County, Va., settled in Charlottesville and was admitted to the Bar in 1838.

He easily attained a place in its front rank, became a member of the House of Delegates; was Lieutenant Governor of the State; and for a term represented his district in Congress.

He died in Charlottesville in 1884.

[2] Major, A. A. G. to Gen. T. H. Holmes; same to Gen. Kirby Smith.

the military authorities, and the unwise and illegal interference of the same with the rights of the citizen and civil authorities."

Gen. Houston [1] has taken advantage of this, and the effects of the War, to have his name presented to the people as the regulator and *Saviour*,—and *will be a candidate for Governor*. He speaks of you contemptuously—calls you "Jeffy Davis," that you "desire to be made Emperor" and that the offensive acts of the military have been done by "your instruments." If he runs (and he will certainly do so if he thinks he can succeed) I fear that he will be elected, for most of our true men are out of the State in the Army, the consequences will be invasion of the State, and perhaps its loss to the confederacy. In the eyes of the North his election would be the verification of the statements of Jack Hamilton to the Lincoln government, of the existence of a strong Union sentiment in Texas, and will be regarded abroad as evidence of the disposition of Texas to return to the Union. At the outset of the revolution, Houston was known to be an advocate of the *Lone Star* in preference to the Bars and Stars; recently, he spoke in Houston, and had suspended over him the Lone Star flag only, when a flag of the Confederacy could as easily have been obtained. He fans the flame of discontent in his private talks, and will be supported by all of the dissatisfied, disaffected and disloyal. Also a good many true men will support him, being deceived as to his real motives and intentions. Age seems not to have dampened his ardor, his ambition or his vindictiveness. Unless the strength of loyal men is cast for some *one* man, Houston will be the next Governor of Texas.

Gen. Chambers is out for Governor and will get a good vote, unless you can make him a Brigadier General,—he is I am told hostile to you, no doubt, I suppose because you did not appoint him when in Richmond,—nothing but an appointment can prevent his running the race out. We cannot afford to lose the vote he will get. If our true men were at home, there would be no danger; the Mexicans, Germans, discontented and disloyal will all support Houston.

I sincerely regret that you have not appointed a *Statesman* and General in command of the Trans-Miss. Dept. with *Department* or Administration duties only to perform; with an able General in the field to lead and direct the forces; then, with *Good Generals* (confined to their sphere) in each Sub Department would do more good than the present arrangement.

[1] Sam Houston.

If this war continues longer than this year, there is no telling from your standpoint in Richmond what will be the ultimate condition of affairs West of the Miss. Wise action and practical men may avert the evils seen in the distance and dreaded here by good men.

I submit these facts for your consideration, and this letter to your confidence.

After a dangerous and protracted illness of bilious and typhoid pneumonia followed by rheumatism I am nearly in condition to report for duty to Gen. Holmes or Gen. Smith.

I have the honor to be respectfully

Your friend and obt. servt.

GUY M. BRYAN.

His Excellency,
President J. Davis.

endorsed:
March 9, 1863; confidential; Hon. Guy M. Bryan, Texas; In relation to condition of affairs in Texas; recd. May 22, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 10, 1863

What are the operations which indicate that the enemy will get through the canal?

Do your guns prove effective against working parties and dredging machines on canal?

What is state of affairs on the Coldwater and Tallahatchie? Have you further intelligence of the reported movement towards Aberdeen? As a second point for defence and obstruction to enemy's boats, how does Ellis Cliffs compare with Grand Gulf?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

P.S. What has been your success in the attempt to raise the Indianola? What is the stage of the Missi.? Is it rising or falling at Vicksburg?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Jonathan Davis, Albany, Georgia

(From President's Letter Book.)

Sir: Richmond, March 10, 1863

The pressure of official duties has prevented an earlier reply to your letter of Jan. 14th; but, in the meantime, measures

have been inaugurated which anticipate and which, it is hoped, will avert the embarrassment you apprehend from the condition of our currency and from irregularities in the enforcement of the Conscript Act.

Congress has now under consideration a tax Bill which, if passed, in conjunction with one for funding, will reduce the present circulation and add stability to our financial system.

A Bureau of conscription has been recently organized, with Head Quarters in this city and charged with a general supervision over the officers employed in enrolling and instructing the conscripts in the several States. There is every reason to expect from their labors a more systematic execution of the laws and a decided increase of the efficient strength of our armies.

Your letter manifested a lofty and determined spirit of patriotism which merits all admiration, and I beg you to receive assurances of my kind regard.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. C. C. Clay,[1] *Chairman, &c. &c.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 10, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 7th inst. and to reply that, contracts made for the construction of vessels of war in foreign countries for the service of the Confederate States, can only be successfully executed by the maintenance of the utmost secrecy, and are undertaken by the builder at hazard to himself which would only be encountered under entire confidence that the transaction would not be divulged by the agents of our Government with whom such contracts were made so as by any contingency to allow the information to become available in a prosecution.

For these reasons I do not think it would be consistent with the public interest or the good faith of the Govt. to furnish copies as requested.

Desirous at all times that the most entire knowledge of the operations of the Executive Dept. should be, as far as is consistent, possessed by the legislative branch of the Govt.,

[1] United States Senator from Alabama, 1853-1860; Confederate States Senator, 1861-1863; diplomatic agent C. S. A.

I hope the proposition of the Secretary of the Navy will be found satisfactory to the Committee as it seems to offer the desired information without the objection which attaches to furnishing copies.

Ill health has prevented me from giving an earlier answer.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c near Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 10, 1863

When convenient and practicable, I wish to see you.
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 11, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to call upon your Excellency, in accordance with an Act passed by the Legislature of Virginia, Oct. 3, 1862, for two thousand eight hundred and thirty two (2832) negroes, to labor for sixty (60) days on the fortifications in this State.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a communication from Col. J. F. Gilmer, Chief of Engineer Bureau, explaining the necessity for the call and enumerating the counties upon which it is suggested the draft be made, is herewith transmitted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. H. Marshall, Estillville, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 11, 1863

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of Feby. 15th has been received, enclosing copies of orders and telegrams recd. by you, together with your explanation of your operations.

I have given your letter careful attention and regret that the movements of Genl. Pegram were so planned and con-

ducted as to wound your soldierly sensibility. Although it is admitted that you have apparent grounds of complaint, yet I am satisfied that no intentional disrespect or disregard of your feelings or rights was meant by Genl. Donelson. Doubtless, he was not fully informed as to the distribution of your forces or the military operations in which you were engaged. Had he been so informed, he would most probably not have directed an expedition, contrary to your wishes, to traverse your front, to be guided by your scouts and covered by your outposts, while performing the service you had already proposed for your own command. I trust that hereafter no want of co-intelligence or harmony of action will occur, but that your service may be pleasant to yourself as well as useful to your country.

Very truly and respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Jno. G. Shorter, Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 14, 1863

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 6th inst., recommending the appointment of Brig. Genl. R. A. Rodes to be a Major General, and will give it proper consideration in making future selections to fill vacancies.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 16, 1863

Your telegram of 15th received.

Have ordered four Columbiads to be sent to you from Alabama river and two heavy rifled guns from here.

Await further intelligence from you with great anxiety.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 16, 1863

Your suggestion for reinforcement from W. Va. led to inquiry. Reports show less force than was supposed. Genl. Marshall proposes to go into Ky. Would that create a diversion serviceable to you? Can you so arrange the forces in the Dept. of E. Tenn., as lately defined, so as to obtain any valuable aid? I realize the importance of prompt reinforcements in Middle Tenn. and wish you to look over your whole Dept. to see whether changes can be made which will increase the strength where most needed. An attack can not be simultaneous on every point. Pemberton asks for heavy guns; from which I hope he may, with that want supplied, be able to maintain himself. Here there is no surplus of force, yet I will endeavor to send a few troops from this section.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 16, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, for your Excellency's action, the letter herewith from the Hon. Secty. of War, enclosing recommendation from Chief of Engr. Bureau for reduction of the number of slaves recently called from Goochland County to work on fortifications.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 17, 1863

The Governor of Georgia says he is "informed that Genl. Bragg has issued an order for the seizure of the State R. Road."

I suppose it to be a mistake, but if such authority has been given, please countermand.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to R. A. Pryor.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., March 17, 1863.

Genl. R. A. Pryor,
Petersburg, Va.,
Genl.:

Your gratifying letter of the 6th inst. referring to an Article in the "Examiner" newspaper which seems to associate you with the opposition to the Administration has been received.

I did not see the Article in question; but am glad it has led to an expression so agreeable. The good opinion of one so competent to judge of public affairs, and who has known me so long and closely is a great support in the midst of many and arduous trials.

Very respectfully
and truly yrs,
(Signed) JEFFSN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr Jos. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 17, 1863

Your dispatch of yesterday received to day. Suppose you have been misinformed; but to guard against contingency, have directed that if such authority has been given, it be countermanded. You may rest assured that I will at all times endeavor to prevent aggression by Confederate Officers, and hope when any case requiring redress occurs that you will notify me, and give time for the application of a proper remedy.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Pryor, Roger Atkinson (1828-1919), a jurist, was born in Dinwiddie County, Va., July 19, 1828, graduated from Hampden Sidney College, Va., in 1845, from the University of Virginia in 1848, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1849. He soon abandoned the profession for journalism, and was for a time editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*. He was minister to Greece, 1855-1857, and served as a member of the national House of Representatives from December 7, 1859, to March 3, 1861. Entering the Confederate military service as a colonel he was brevetted brigadier general in 1862, but resigned and enlisted as a private. In 1864-1865 he was a prisoner of war at Fort Lafayette, N. Y. Settling in New York City after the war, he was judge of the New York court of common pleas, 1890-1894, and a justice of the New York Supreme Court, 1894-1899. He died at his home in New York, in 1919. Consult S. E. M. Hardy, Roger A. Pryor, in Green Bag, Vol. 10, p. 161, 1898.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 18, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's action, a letter from the Secretary of War, enclosing recommendation from Engineer Bureau for reduction of the call on Alleghany County for slaves to work on fortifications.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 18, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst., enclosing a certified copy of an Act of the Legislature of Virginia, entitled: "An Act to amend and re-enact an Act further to provide for the public defence, passed October 3rd, 1862."

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. Dept. Trans.-Missi. Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes, Little Rock Ark. Lt. General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 18, 1863

My Dear Sir:

Permit me to present to you my friend, Govr. Reynolds of Mo., who will have much official connection with you, and to ask for him your special consideration.

As a right minded man of large knowledge and sound views on military questions, he will be found, I venture to predict, both useful and agreeable to you.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 19, 1863

Your dispatch of 18th received and its gratifying intelligence noted.

In addition to the heavy guns of which you are informed, the Secretary of the Navy has agreed that you may stop for present use the fine gun (9000 lbs.) which was recently started to Red river.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 19, 1863

Dispatch of 18th received. Order granting furloughs was published on 16th and copy sent you by mail.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thomas O. Moore, Governor of La.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 20, 1863

Sir:

Upon the receipt of your letter of January 29th, transmitting a copy of a "Joint Resolution relative to the suspension from their respective commands of Lt. Col. V. A. Fournet and Capt. E. W. Fuller," I directed the Adjutant General to make such a Report upon the case as the records of his office should enable him to prepare.

From his Report it appears that muster Rolls on file show that Lt. Col. V. A. Fournet commands the 10th Battalion of La. Volunteers, and Capt. W. Fuller a company of heavy artillery, —both stationed in western La. under Major Genl. R. Taylor.

There is no evidence on file in the War Office that either of these officers has been suspended from his command.

Very truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 20, 1863

General:

I have received your dispatch in cypher of the 18th inst.; and if it has been correctly decyphered, I fear mine to you of the 16th was not. As many mistakes in the transmission by telegraph of such dispatches are made, I enclose a correct copy of mine, and one of yours as decyphered here.

You will see that I referred in my dispatch to the proposed movement of Genl. Marshall, and not to that of the cavalry of East Tenn., into Kentucky, as likely to create a diversion in your favor.

I did not intend to express the opinion that Genls. Bragg and Pemberton might not be attacked at the same time, but that the enemy would not attack our positions in S.western Va., East Tenn., and Mobile, simultaneously with those occupied by Genl. Bragg in Middle Tenn. and Genl. Pemberton in Missi. and Louisiana.

One purpose was to direct your attention and to receive your opinion mainly upon two points—First as to the practicability of strengthening the army in middle Tenn., by drawing to it for temporary use a portion of the troops of other commands in your Dept.;—Second, to have your advice in relation to the proposition of Genl. Marshall for an advance by his force into Kentucky.

Since the date of my dispatch, an unexpected activity has been exhibited by the enemy in Northern Va. Genl. Lee concurred with me in an anxious desire to send you reinforcement. Indeed, for months, he has looked to, and hoped for, a condition of things, such as the enemy going into winter quarters or the like, which might enable him to detach a corps for service in the West. The desire continues, but the prospect, for the reason above stated, is now less promising than at the date of my last telegram.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 20, 1863

General:

I have received your telegram of the 19th inst. in reference to the difficulty with the Georgia State railroad, and am glad to learn that force, although threatened, was not used to forward your supplies of arms and ammunition.

Any conflict between Confederate and State authority is much to be regretted, and should always be avoided if possible. The Govr. of Georgia, in complaining of your order to seize the State road, stated that he was doing all in his power to aid you; and should difficulties similar to the one in question hereafter arise, your best course would be to call upon him to aid you, by his authority over the road, to obtain the required transportation.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 20, 1863

My Dear Sir:

In reply to my telegram of the 17th inst. in reference to the seizure of the State rail road, Genl. Bragg states that the Ordnance officer at Atlanta asserted to him that the Road refused to transport arms and ammunition, and that then he (Genl. Bragg) directed the quartermaster's department to use force, if necessary, to get forward these supplies, and report the facts to Col. Wadly, Supt. The supplies were forwarded, and force was not used.

Such action on the part of the officers of the Confederate Government is much to be regretted; although force, as I am glad to learn, was not used in this case.

Genl. Bragg has been directed, in the event of similar difficulties hereafter arising, to call upon you for assistance, with the assurance that you will be always ready to further, in any proper manner, the interests of our common cause.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, of Virginia.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 25, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th inst., transmitting a copy of a "Report of the Select Committee on the subject of transportation of private freight on the several rail roads &c."

Attention has been given to this subject by the Government, and efforts have been made to prevent any unnecessary interference with the control of the roads by their respective companies. Another appointment was made some time since of a general Agent, from whose supervision it is hoped good will result.

The necessities of the Government both for transportation and subsistence for the Army are too well known to require remark to your Excellency.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin, Texas, March 27. 1863.

To His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President Confe States &c.
Richmond, Va.

Sir,

Impelled by a paramount sense of duty, I presume to bring to your attention, and request your favorable consideration, of the measures that have been adopted by the Legislature of Texas for the defence of her extended Indian Frontier, the causes conducing thereto, and, in compliance with the expressed wish of the Legislature, to solicit your acceptance into the service of the Confederate States, of the Regiment of Mounted State Troops, organized for that purpose.

None are more fully informed than your Excellency, that the Frontier of Texas, since its existence as a State, has ever been exposed to all the horrors of a cruel and savage warfare and

that exposed as Texas, by its peculiar geographical position, will always be, to the ravages of Indian incursions, as long as a wild Indian roams the prairie, must cause the frequent recurrence of the most distressing emergencies, eliciting the intense sympathies of the whole people of the State.

While a member of the Federal Government, Texas incessantly importuned for adequate protection to the settlers of her Indian frontier, measures were adopted, from time to time, by that Government, varying both in number and kind of troops, but generally fruitless in results. The numerous instances of atrocious barbarities necessarily aroused the manhood of the State, and while duly appreciating the military virtues of the American soldier, the people urged that to the regular force should be added the light troops known as the "Texas Ranger"; believing that personal prowess, superior horsemanship, with the skilful use of the rifle and revolver, qualities which have ever distinguished the Ranger, would under the goading of injuries inflicted by the savage and ruthless foe, accomplish a greater success in defending the people of that frontier, than had hitherto been Obtained, by the disciplined soldier alone.

Occasionally, when the feelings of the people of Texas had been outraged by Indian forays, attended by acts of more than usual atrocity, a few Companies of Rangers have been called for a brief term into this service, but with the evanescence of the danger, these troops, peculiarly efficient, have been disbanded.

Texas, in uniting her destiny with her Sister States of the Confederacy, constituted its Government to raise and support Armies and to repel invasion: thus authorized, the people of this noble State look to your Excellency for peace and security to the settlers of her Indian Frontier, by that system of defense, which sad experience has proved to them the most successful of any hitherto tried and which is designated in "An Act to provide for the protection of the Frontier of the State of Texas," approved Dec^{r} 21st 1861 (marked (A) in the accompanying Documents).

It is not for the purpose of self-laudation, much less to vaunt, that I would remind your Excellency that Texas, without counting the cost, has bestowed upon our holy cause, her sons and her treasure, restricted in number and amount only by her ability; but to acquaint your Excellency that these very Counties, constituting the Indian Frontier, thus ravaged and desolated, have furnished not only Companies but battalions to our service which are now battling our cruel foe on fields far distant from their frontier homes.

The reasons which, in their patriotic fervor, have caused these people to respond to the call of your Excellency to meet the enemy on other soil, than that of Texas, leaving their wives and children on the frontier subject to be butchered by savages, was the implicit trust in Texas, that their State would in every exigency, promptly put forth all her energies and resources for her own and their protection, and consequently for the general defense.

This Texas has done, regardless of expenditure, confiding, for reimbursement, to the justice and sound policy of the Confederate States Government in all such cases and in the present, when, by the withdrawal of the Confederate States troops the defense of the Indian Frontier has devolved exclusively and entirely upon the Regiment of Mounted State Troops.

In compliance with the Law, copies of the Act approved Dec^{r} 21st 1861 were forwarded to the Secretary of War and to each member of the Congressional Delegation from Texas, urging the acceptance of this Regiment into the service of the C. S. "as the most effective and economical mode of Frontier protection," which, however, failed to command your approval.

Reposing, myself, every assurance in your good faith to remedy the evils in the defense of the Frontier of Texas, and anxious to relieve the Treasury of the State from the oppression of a burden which, from right and ability should be borne by the common Treasury of all the States of the Confederacy; on the 1st of October 1862, I directed that the Regiment should be tendered to Brig. General Hébert, commanding the Military Department of Texas (marked (B) in accompanying Documents), which was conditionally accepted (marked (C) sec'y Doc^{s}).

The Regiment was reorganized in strict compliance with the conditions prescribed by General Hébert, and the result officially announced to Brig. General Bee, within the limits of whose command the Regiment was stationed; but, with his acceptance, and the order detailing an officer to transfer the Regiment into the C. S. Service, was received also an other removing five Companies of the Regiment to the lower Rio Grande, leaving an Indian Frontier-line five hundred miles long to be defended by the remaining five Companies of the Regiment, there being no C. S. Troops stationed anywhere along that Frontier. (Doc^{s}. marked (C) (D) (E) (F) & (G).) Sincerely, nay anxiously desirous as I was to relieve the Treasury from a depletion that did not rightfully belong to it, and solicitous for the transfer, because I believed that, brought under the orders of the Major

General Commanding, increased efficiency would be obtained at a much reduced expenditure of money, yet upon proof, clear and peremptory, of the serious difficulties that would immediately ensue upon the removal of these Companies, I was compelled to deny the transfer, unless other troops, corresponding in number, could replace this Regiment.

In view of the speedy reassembling of the Legislature, which, too, had been called in extraordinary Session, I determined to refer the subject to that Body which resulted in the passage of an Act approved March 6th, 1863 (Document marked (H)), removing all the restrictions imposed by the previous Act, approved Dec. 21, 1861, with the only exception that its service should be continued on the Indian Frontier for its defense.

Under this Supplemental Act, the Regiment has again been tendered to the Major General Commanding this Military District, and by him accepted subject to your confirmation (Document marked (Letter illegible) . . .).

Impressed with a firm conviction of the superiority of this mode of defense for the protection of the Indian Frontier, and its pre-eminent efficiency having been recognized by the people of the Frontier, and by the Legislature at its several sessions; in a spirit, the very reverse of dictation, I would invoke your Excellency to accept the service of this Regiment, and, to that extent, save the people on our Indian Frontier, in the future, from a renewal of the countless sacrifices which they have heretofore made, and the horrible consequences that accompany these Indian Raids.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your Excellency's Obt Servt
F. R. Lubbock
Gov. of the State of Texas

Jefferson Davis to Hon. A. H. Garland,[1] *Ho. of Reprs.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 28, 1863

Sir:

I reply to your letter of 21st inst. and to the matters contained in your previous communications of 14th and 18th inst. I state my recollections of what occurred at the meeting between

[1] Garland, Augustus Hill (1832-1899), a lawyer, was born in Tipton County, Tenn., June 11, 1832, was educated at St. Mary's College, Lebanon, Ky., and St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., read law there and in Arkansas, and was admitted to the bar at Washington, Ark., in

the Arkansas Delegation and myself, for the sole purpose of avoiding the inference that my silence on the subject would be a tacit assent to the accuracy of your recital.

On the 29th January the Arkansas delegation in the House, in answer to a request from me that they would call for conference at the Executive office, were present. Some members of the Cabinet were also present, and a despatch was read to the delegation in which General Holmes requested that martial law should be proclaimed in that State and in the Indian Country. The delegation were understood as recommending that this should be done, and that General Hindman should be recalled, as his presence in command was stated to be very objectionable to the public feeling of the State.

The delegation expressed itself in the kindest terms as to General Holmes, but suggested that after what had occurred in that State, it was very desirable that a new commander, General E. Kirby Smith, should be sent there as soon as it could be done with due regard to the public service.

So certain was it to me and to the members of the Cabinet present that this was the view of the delegation, that I immediately caused the following despatch to be forwarded to Genl. Holmes:

"Richmond, 29th Jan. 1863

Lt. Genl. Holmes:

Your despatch of 22d received. The President suspends the writ of habeas corpus in Arkansas and the adjacent Indian country. You will establish the necessary regulations to protect persons and property and to maintain order, but will abstain from any further control over the rights of persons or property than is necessary for defensive purposes and military discipline.

By the President

(Signed) S. Cooper, Adjt. & Inspr. Genl."

At the same time directions were given to relieve General Hindman from further duties in the Trans-Mississippi District, and that he should repair to Vicksburg for further orders. These

1853. He removed to Little Rock in 1856. He was a member of the provisional Confederate Congress, and of the Confederate Congress, serving in both houses, and being in the Senate when the war closed. He was elected to the United States Senate from Arkansas for the term beginning March 4, 1867, but not being admitted to his seat, made the test oath case as to lawyers in the U. S. Supreme Court, and gained it (see Wallace's Supreme Court Reports, Vol. IV), was governor of Arkansas, in 1874-1877, and served in the United States Senate from 1877 to 1885. He was attorney general in President Cleveland's cabinet from 1885 to 1889, and died in Washington, D. C., while arguing a case before the Supreme Court, January 26, 1899. Consult Farrar Newberry, A Life of Mr. Garland of Arkansas, 107 pp. Arkadelphia, Ark., 1908.

directions were executed by the issue of a special order to that effect the next day, 30th January. Soon afterwards, on the 9th of February, the State of Arkansas was united to the military Dept. under command of Genl. Kirby Smith, who as senior officer takes command over Genl. Holmes.

These arrangements were made in accordance with my understanding of the wishes and desires of your delegation, and it plainly appears that I was not mistaken in my interpretation of their views, for on the 2d February, the whole delegation united in a letter to me, setting forth their wishes as follows:

"1st. That you will place Genl. E. Kirby Smith in command of the Trans-Missi. Dept.

2nd. That you withdraw Major Genl. Hindman from command of the army in Arkansas."

In the same letter the delegation said:

"We now respectfully add that we would guard the feelings of Genl. Hindman a faithful and devoted soldier and gentleman, and knowing as we feel we do that he would rejoice at this action and serve with satisfaction under Genl. Smith or wherever you would assign him, and feeling a personal confidence and regard for him, would prefer that you would continue him amongst us, &c &c."

To this statement of facts I will simply add that the law authorizing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* having expired, General Holmes was so informed by me, by letter of 26th February last.

Under these circumstances it will, I am persuaded, appear quite natural to you that I should be surprised at the charge made in your letter of the 14th inst. (which you subsequently explained to have been made without any intention of disrespect to the Chief Magistrate) that "the Representatives and Senators had been surely trifled with and by the Administration," and that "the call on the Senators and Representatives was useless and ridiculous."

I will add one word on the implied complaint of the difficulty of having an interview with me. During the session of Congress, when about one hundred and twenty members of the two Houses are added to the number of the public officers of all the Departments, as well as the Army officers despatched to me on urgent business by their Generals, the entire official day is inadequate to their reception and to the necessary correspondence with both State and Confederate officials in all the States.

It thus happens often that gentlemen of the two Houses find

me pre-engaged with other visitors, when it would be convenient to them to confer with me, but I am not aware that I have ever failed to welcome cordially the visit of yourself or any other gentleman of either House, when not deprived of that pleasure by the stress of important public business.

I have the honor to be
&c &c
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Senators and Representatives from Arkansas.[1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, March 30, 1863

Gentlemen:

My reply to your letter of 2d ulto. has been delayed in order to obtain certain returns which, though still imperfect, may suffice for the present.

The apprehensions expressed in your letter relative to the interruption of communication between your Dept. and the Eastern side of the Mississippi River, the possession of the valley of the Arkansas river by the enemy, and the occupation of your whole State down to the Louisiana border within forty miles of Monroe, as well as the fall of your capital, have fortunately proven thus far unfounded. It is to be hoped that the failure of the enemy to capture or turn Vicksburg or Port Hudson, notwithstanding repeated efforts, as well as his inability to advance on his other lines of attack will deprive him of the power to conduct a Trans-Mississippi campaign with the efficiency and success that seemed to you probable at the date of your letter.

In relation to the several points on which you deemed immediate action essential, and which were specially urged in your communication, it has been my effort to comply with your wishes to every extent compatible with the resources of the Confederacy and the exigencies of the public service at other important points.

I will take up your requests in their order:

1st. That I should place General E. Kirby Smith in command of the Trans-Mississippi Dept.

This was done by order from the War Dept. on the 9th of February.

[1] Robert W. Johnson and Charles B. Mitchel Senators; Felix I. Batson, Grandison D. Royston, Augustus H. Garland, and Thomas B. Hanly Representatives.

2nd. That I should withdraw General Hindman from command of the army in Arkansas.

This had been done by special order issued on the 30th January, the day after our Conference at the Executive office.

3rd. That I should place Genl. Price in command of the army in North Arkansas and Missouri.

Many months prior to your letter, instruction was given, and was on 3rd February repeated, directing that General Price and his Missouri troops should be sent West of Mississippi as soon as it could be done consistently with the safety of General Pemberton's Dept. General Price, I am informed, without the troops, accompanied General Smith to Arkansas, for assignment to command in that Dept.

4th. That I should not only refuse to withdraw troops from Arkansas, but send back some of the skeleton regiments then East of the Missi. river.

With this request it has been impossible to comply without great danger to the defence of the East bank of the river, equally important with the West bank to the safety of your State.

The troops on the West side were believed to be nearly equal in number to the enemy on that side. Our armies were far inferior in number to the enemy in front of them on the East side. In this condition of affairs it would have been unjustifiable to weaken our inferior forces still further at points where attack was imminent, in order to strengthen other armies not so immediately threatened with attack and possessing numbers more nearly approaching equality with the opposing force.

5th. That arms and ammunition should be sent you as promptly as possible and by every occasion.

This had been done previously to your request, and has been since continued as promptly as the public resources would permit. The returns herewith enclosed from the Ordnance office show that within the last eight months there have been sent to the Trans-Mississippi Dept. over 34,000 stands of small arms, over 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition for small arms, 27 field guns with ammunition, and one ten inch Columbiad. This quantity has no doubt been recently increased, but it is impossible to say exactly, owing to the embarrassments of transportation at this season of the year, what are the precise additions made to these supplies.

6th. That in consequence of your conviction of the qualities of Genl. Holmes as a faithful and devoted soldier and gentleman, and your belief that he would serve with satisfaction under General Smith, I should continue him in service amongst you.

This has been done, and Genl. Holmes remains in Arkansas under command of Genl. Kirby Smith.

These are the different points urged in your letter and you will perceive that all has been done that the condition of the public service allowed for the gratification of the people of your State.

I may add that my solicitude for the safety and defence of the valley of the Mississippi on both banks has been very great, and that the preservation of the communication between the States on the East and West banks of that river is of primary importance both in a military and political point of view. It therefore afforded me pleasure to have your views on so interesting a subject, and they have been considered with deference.

The statements in relation to the number of troops from Arkansas on the East of the Mississippi, and the number of adult males in your State, as quoted by you from the letter of Governor Flanagin, vary so materially from the returns in the office of the Adjutant General, that it has been impossible to reconcile them, and the inquiry into this subject has mainly caused the delay in obtaining the information requisite for my answer to you.

I write to Governor Flanagin on the subject of this discrepancy, and shall endeavor to ascertain where the error lies; but it is believed that the number of troops from other States sent to Arkansas far exceeds the number withdrawn.

However this may be, it is not in my opinion wise or proper to encourage the idea of retaining in each State its own troops for its own defence, and thus giving strength to the fatal error of supposing that this great war can be waged by the Confederate States *severally* and *unitedly*, with the least hope of success. Our safety—our very existence—depends on the complete blending of the military strength of all the States into one united body, to be used anywhere and everywhere as the exigencies of the contest may require for the good of the *whole*. Many of the best generals of the Confederacy as well as myself have learned from the experience of this war how great was the error which prevailed among us all in the beginning, that sound policy required troops to be kept as far as convenient for the defence of

their own homes. The discipline and efficiency of our armies have been found to be far greater when the troops were separated from their homes and thus delivered from the constant temptation to absent themselves from duty presented by proximity to their families. I cannot therefore coincide in the views implied in your letter that an undue proportion of the troops from your State are now serving East of the Mississippi.

I have the honor to be

&c &c

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to T. K. Barber, C. S. Atty., Woodville, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, March 31, 1863

No evidence here of appointment of J. P. Dillingham. If he is commissioner of C. S. Court, it would seem that he is a C. S. officer and exempt by law.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, April 1, 1863

General Elzey reports as reliable that Newport News has been abandoned by the enemy. No tents there. Burnside and his corps (9th) passed through Baltimore a few days since to reinforce Rosencranz.

Other troops have been sent from Hooker's army into Tennessee. Would like your views on this.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding &c. and Genl. J. E. Johnston.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, April 1, 1863

The Secty. of State has received the following from a gentleman entirely trustworthy just from New York:

"A great crisis is expected in Kentucky. I am led to believe that the 20,000 men Burnsides' old army corps (9th) which was despatched Westward in night trains since Sunday 22d March are destined for that quarter."

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Wm. M. Brooks, Marion, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 2, 1863

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 20th ulto. reached me in due course, and has received careful attention. Your friendly assurance of the extent to which I am honored by the confidence and esteem of my fellow-citizens is a source of sincere gratification, the more acceptable coming from one so well qualified to judge as yourself.

I was not prepared to learn the dissatisfaction which you represent as existing in regard to the assignment of General Pemberton, and I hope that the distrust in his fidelity and ability to which you allude is not as great as you have been led to believe.

I selected General Pemberton for the very important command which he now holds from a conviction that he was the best qualified officer for that post then available, and I have since found no reason to change the opinion I then entertained of him.

If success which is generally regarded in popular estimation as evidence of qualification be so regarded in his case, I am surprised that General Pemberton's merits should still be doubted. With a force far inferior in numbers to the enemy, menaced by attack at several points widely distant from each other, with no naval force to meet the enemy's fleets on the Mississippi and its tributaries, by his judicious disposition of his forces and skilful selection of the best points of defence he has repulsed the enemy at Vicksburg, Port Hudson, on the Tallahatchie and at Deer Creek, and has thus far foiled his every attempt to get possession of the Mississippi river and the vast section of country which it controls.

I think that he has also demonstrated great administrative as well as military ability. He has been enabled to subsist and clothe his army without going out of his own Dept., and though within a recent period some difficulty may have arisen in the transportation of supplies, or some scarcity may have been apprehended which circumstance is, I regret to say, not confined

to his command, I think he is not the less commendable for his former success in this regard and that he is entitled to confidence in his ability to overcome the difficulty and procure the requisite provisions for his troops, if indeed such may be practicable.

I still hope that "the suspicions and distrust" which you mention do not exist to any considerable extent, but however this may be, I feel assured that they are "groundless."

With reference to the fact that General Pemberton was born at the North being alleged as a justification of distrust in his fidelity to our cause, I can imagine nothing more unjust and ungenerous.

General Pemberton resigned his commission in the U. S. army on the secession of Virginia—his adopted State.—He came at once to Richmond and was one of the first officers of the U. S. army who offered his services to Governor Letcher, by whom he was immediately appointed to a field commission. He afterwards entered the service of the Confederate States in which he has risen from step to step to his present position. In addition to the other proofs which he has afforded of his devotion to the cause of the Confederate States, I may add that by coming South he forfeited a considerable fortune.

Your suggestions as to Col. I. W. Garrett shall receive due attention. I recollect him very favorably and have no doubt that your estimate of him is just.

With assurances of regard and esteem

I remain very respectfully & truly

Yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Flanagin,[1] *Little Rock, Ark.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 3, 1863

Sir:

It has for various reasons been out of my power to make earlier reply to your letter of 5th Jany. last. One of these reasons has been the difficulty experienced in reconciling the state-

[1] Flanagin, Harris (1817-1874), a governor of Arkansas, was born in Cumberland County, New Jersey, November 3, 1817, was educated in the public schools, studied law in Illinois, and settled in Arkansas. In 1842 he was elected to the State legislature. He entered the Confederate army, rising to the rank of colonel, and in 1862 was elected governor of Arkansas. He held the office three years, until superseded by the military authorities. In 1874 he was a member of the Arkansas Constitutional Convention. He died at his home at Arkadelphia, October 23, 1874.

ments appended to your letter with the returns in the office of the Adjt. Genl. showing the number of regiments from Arkansas in the Confederate service on both sides of the Mississippi.

The defense of the Missi. river on both banks has been considered by me as of primary importance, and I can assure you that you can not estimate more highly than I do the necessity of maintaining an unobstructed communication between the States that are separated by that river. The only question for consideration is how to dispose of our forces to the best advantage for that purpose.

In this view of the subject, I have deemed the defense of Vicksburg and Port Hudson as indispensable. If we succeed, as I have confidence we shall, in maintaining these two positions, we preserve the ability to furnish the munitions and ordnance stores necessary for the supply of the troops on the west bank, and to throw them across the river adequate forces for meeting the enemy, if he should transfer his campaign from Tennessee, Missi. and Alabama to Arkansas and Louisiana.

When a comparison is made of the invading forces on the two sides of the river it will be found that the disproportion between the opposing forces has been more largely against us on the Eastern than on the Western side, yet if we lost control of the Eastern side, the Western must almost inevitably fall into the power of the enemy. The defense of the fortified places on the Eastern bank is therefore regarded as the defense of Arkansas quite as much as that of Tennessee, Missi. and Louisiana. In the disposition of our forces therefore, although the number of troops in Arkansas may be less than is desirable, still it is as great as the necessity of our position will admit, for you are well aware that we are sadly outnumbered on all our lines of defense.

In relation to the number of troops from Arkansas now on the East bank of the river, your statements enumerate a total force equivalent to about 40 regiments of all arms while the returns of the Adjt. Genl. show but about 24. It is true that a portion of this great discrepancy is due to the fact that some of the regiments known to be in the service have not yet made the returns of their muster rolls to the Depts., but it is also true that many of the troops from Arks. who have returned to that State with furloughs, or even without leave have there joined the army, and the strength of the regiments on this side has not only been much reduced, but it appears that some of them have been consolidated.

However this may be, it is, I think, beyond doubt that the troops from other States sent to Arkansas are largely in excess

of those withdrawn from that State, and I have addressed a letter on the subject to your delegation in Congress from which I extract the following passage:

"It is not in my opinion wise or proper to encourage the idea of retaining in each State its own troops for its own defense, and thus giving strength to the fatal error of supposing that this great war can be waged by the Confederate States *severally* and not *unitedly* with the least hope of success. Our safety, our very existence, depends on the complete blending of the military strength of all the States into one united body to be used anywhere and everywhere as the exigencies of the contest may require for the good of the *whole*. Many of the best generals of the Confederacy have learned, as I have done, from the experience of this war, how great was the error which prevailed among us all in the beginning, that sound policy required troops to be kept as far as convenient for the defence of their own homes. The discipline and efficiency of our armies have been found to be far greater when the troops were separated from their homes and thus delivered from the constant temptation to absent themselves from duty, presented by proximity to their families."

I can not therefore agree with you in regarding the fact that various Arks. & Missouri regiments deserted the flag of their country when we were forced to withdraw from Northern Arkansas and Southern Missouri, as a reason for employing troops within their own States, but look upon it rather as a confirmation of the views suggested in the foregoing extract.

In conclusion, I beg to repeat the assurance that it shall be my effort so to dispose of the forces at command, as to protect your State to the utmost extent of our ability. Recent changes made in the command of the Trans-Missi. Dept. with the full concurrence of your delegation will, it is hoped, have good effect in satisfying the good people of your State, and supplies of arms and munitions will be constantly forwarded, as rapidly as our resources and means of transportation will permit.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 4, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ulto. requesting the restoration of Col. G. W. Lee to the command of the Post at Atlanta.

No previous information had reached me in relation to the removal of Col. Lee, of whose energy and zeal I have a high opinion. The Secretary of War has been directed to enquire into the circumstances of the case.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 4, 1863

Sir:

I have recently received a memorial signed by nearly two hundred of the rank and file of the 5th Regiment, 4th Brigade, Mississippi State Militia, stating that they are not liable to conscription, that they have been in service for eight months and that their families will be reduced to distress unless they are allowed to return home to plant the crops for the coming season, and expressing the opinion that their services in camp are of but little benefit either to the State or to the Confederacy.

The militia is the creature of State laws, and the petitioners should properly have forwarded this memorial to you. But as they have seen fit to address themselves to me I respectfully invite your attention to the subject.

An organization by the State of Exempts to be held ready for an emergency would aid the Government without affecting injuriously the agricultural interest; but it is feared that to continue them now in service may bring us our worst fear,—the want of food.

Not knowing the precise condition of things or what it will be when this reaches you, I can only suggest the propriety of discharging the militia, except those subject to conscription, until absolutely required. The conscripts would then be transferred to the Mississippi Regiments now in the Confederate service.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 6, 1863

General:

It appears from your letter of the 28th ult., recently received, that we have mutually misunderstood each other in our corre-

spondence in reference to reinforcing your position in Tennessee, but the matter is now cleared up.

Upon investigation, I have learned that Genl. Marshall's Infantry force is very small. His strength in cavalry is comparatively greater, but as your more urgent need is not for this arm of the service, I have not wished to burden you with the cavalry of Genl. Marshall.

I am anxious to reinforce your army, and will do so when it is practicable. The withdrawal of Burnsides' Corps for the defense of Kentucky defeats the hope I had, that a movement into that State might compel Rosecranz to detach a part of his command; but if Marshall pushes his force, with activity, it may prevent any further reinforcement from the East being sent to Rosecranz. Events here and at Charleston have not fully developed the plan of the enemy.

One of my aides-de-camp, Col. Ibes, is now engaged upon the duty you suggest, in Mississippi, which will obviate the necessity of Col. Johnston's extending his visit to that portion of your command.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss. and to Genl. S. Buckner, Mobile, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(In cypher)

Richmond, April 7, 1863

Reports received here lead to the belief that Rosecranz will be largely reinforced.

Under existing circumstances, what number of troops if any, can you send, for temporary service, to Tullahoma, with due regard to the safety of your positions?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States.

(From Messages of the President.)

To the People of the Confederate States.

In compliance with the request of Congress, contained in resolutions passed on the 4th day of the current month, I invoke

your attention to the present condition and future prospects of our country and to the duties which patriotism imposes on us all during this great struggle for our homes and our liberties. These resolutions are in the following language:

Whereas a strong impression prevails through the country that the war now being waged against the people of the Confederate States may terminate during the present year; and whereas, this impression is leading many patriotic citizens to engage largely in the production of cotton and tobacco, which they would not otherwise do; and whereas, in the opinion of Congress, it is of the utmost importance, not only with a view to the proper subsistence of our armies, but the interest and welfare of all the people, that the agricultural labor of the country should be employed chiefly in the production of a supply of food to meet every contingency: Therefore,

Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That it is the deliberate judgment of Congress that the people of these States, while hoping for peace, should look to prolonged war as the only condition proffered by the enemy short of subjugation; that every preparation necessary to encounter such a war should be persisted in; and that the amplest supply of provisions for armies and people should be the first object of all agriculturists; therefore, it is earnestly recommended that the people, instead of planting cotton and tobacco, shall direct their agricultural labor mainly to the production of such crops as will insure a sufficiency of food for all classes and for every emergency, thereby with true patriotism subordinating the hope of gain to the certain good of the country.

SEC. 2. That the President is hereby requested to issue a proclamation to the people of these States urging upon them the necessity of guarding against the great perils of a short crop of provisions and setting forth such reasons therefor as his judgment may dictate.

Fully concurring in the views thus expressed by the Congress, I confidently appeal to your love of country for aid in carrying into effect the recommendations of your Senators and Representatives. We have reached the close of the second year of the war, and may point with just pride to the history of our young Confederacy. Alone, unaided, we have met and overthrown the most formidable combination of naval and military armaments that the lust of conquest ever gathered together for the subjugation of a free people. We began this struggle without a single gun afloat, while the resources of our enemy enabled them to gather fleets which, according to their official list published in August last, consisted of 427 vessels, measuring 340,036 tons and

carrying 3,268 guns. Yet we have captured, sunk, or destroyed a number of these vessels, including two large frigates and one steam sloop of war, while four of their captured steam gunboats are now in our possession, adding to the strength of our little Navy, which is rapidly gaining in numbers and efficiency. To oppose invading forces composed of levies which have already exceeded 1,300,000 men, we had no resources but the unconquerable valor of a people determined to be free, and we were so destitute of military supplies that tens of thousands of our citizens were reluctantly refused admission into the service from our inability to provide them with arms, while for many months some of our important strongholds owed their safety chiefly to a careful concealment of the fact that we were without a supply of powder for our cannon. Your devotion and patriotism have triumphed over all these obstacles and called into existence the munitions of war, the clothing, and the subsistence which have enabled our soldiers to illustrate their valor on numerous battlefields, and to inflict crushing defeats on successive armies, each of which an arrogant foe fondly imagined to be invincible.

The contrast between our past and present condition is well calculated to inspire full confidence in the triumph of our arms. At no previous period of the war have our forces been so numerous, so well organized, and so thoroughly disciplined, armed, and equipped as at present. The season of high water, on which our enemies relied to enable their fleets of gunboats to penetrate into our country and devastate our homes, is fast passing away; yet our strongholds on the Mississippi still bid defiance to the foe, and months of costly preparations for their reduction have been spent in vain. Disaster has been the result of their every effort to turn or to storm Vicksburg and Port Hudson, as well as of every attack on our batteries on the Red River, the Tallahatchie, and other navigable streams. Within a few weeks the falling waters and the increasing heat of summer will complete their discomfiture and compel their baffled and defeated forces to the abandonment of expeditions on which was based their chief hope of success in effecting our subjugation. We must not forget, however, that the war is not yet ended, and that we are still confronted by powerful armies and threatened by numerous fleets; and that the Government which controls these fleets and armies is driven to the most desperate efforts to effect the unholy purposes in which it has thus far been defeated. It will use its utmost energy to arrest the impending doom, so fully merited by the atrocities it has committed, the savage barbarities which it has encouraged, and the crowning infamy of its attempt to excite

a servile population to the massacre of our wives, our daughters, and our helpless children. With such a contest before us there is but one danger which the Government of your choice regards with apprehension, and to avert this danger it appeals to the never-failing patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice which you have exhibited since the beginning of the war. The very unfavorable season, the protracted droughts of last year, reduced the harvests on which we depended far below an average yield, and the deficiency was unfortunately still more marked in the northern portion of the Confederacy, where supplies were specially needed for the Army. If through a confidence in early peace, which may prove delusive, our fields should be now devoted to the production of cotton and tobacco instead of grain and live stock, and other articles necessary for the subsistence of the people and the Army, the consequences may prove serious, if not disastrous, especially should the present season prove as unfavorable as the last.

Your country, therefore, appeals to you to lay aside all thought of gain, and to devote yourselves to securing your liberties, without which those gains would be valueless. It is true that the wheat harvest in the more southern States, which will be gathered next month, promises an abundant yield; but even if this promise be fulfilled, the difficulty of transportation, enhanced as it has been by an unusually rainy winter, will cause embarrassments in military operations and suffering among the people, should the crops in the middle and northern portions of the Confederacy prove deficient. But no uneasiness need be felt in regard to a mere supply of bread for man. It is for the large amount of corn and forage required for the raising of live stock and for the supply of the animals used in military operations that your aid is specially required. These articles are too bulky for distant transportation, and in them the deficiency in the last harvest was most felt. Let fields be devoted exclusively to the production of corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food for man and beast; let corn be sown broadcast for fodder in immediate proximity to railroads, rivers, and canals, and let all your efforts be directed to the prompt supply of these articles in the districts where our armies are operating. You will thus add greatly to their efficiency and furnish the means without which it is impracticable to make those prompt and active movements which have hitherto stricken terror into our enemies and secured our most brilliant triumphs.

Having thus placed before you, my countrymen, the reasons for the call made on you for aid in supplying the wants of the

coming year, I add a few words of appeal in behalf of the brave soldiers now confronting your enemies, and to whom your Government is unable to furnish all the comforts they so richly merit. The supply of meat for the Army is deficient. This deficiency is only temporary, for measures have been adopted which will, it is believed, soon enable us to restore the full ration. But that ration is now reduced at times to one-half the usual quantity in some of our armies. It is known that the supply of meat throughout the country is sufficient for the support of all, but the distances are so great, the condition of the roads has been so bad during the five months of winter weather through which we have just passed, and the attempt of groveling speculators to forestall the market and make money out of the lifeblood of our defenders have so much influenced the withdrawal from sale of the surplus in the hands of the producers that the Government has been unable to gather full supplies.

The Secretary of War has prepared a plan, which is appended to this address, by the aid of which, or some similar means to be adopted by yourselves, you can assist the officers of the Government in the purchase of the bacon, the pork, and the beef known to exist in large quantities in different parts of the country.

Even if the surplus be less than is believed, is it not a bitter and humiliating reflection that those who remain at home, secure from hardship and protected from danger, should be in the enjoyment of abundance, and that their slaves also should have a full supply of food, while their sons, brothers, husbands, and fathers are stinted in the rations on which their health and efficiency depend?

Entertaining no fear that you will either misconstrue the motives of this address or fail to respond to the call of patriotism, I have placed the facts fully and frankly before you. Let us all unite in the performance of our duty, each in his sphere, and with concerted, persistent, and well-directed effort there seems little reason to doubt that under the blessing of Him to whom we look for guidance, and who has been to us our shield and our strength, we shall maintain the sovereignty and independence of these Confederate States, and transmit to our posterity the heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to the Governors of Texas, Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 15, 1863

Sir:

The 5th Section of an Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to regulate impressments," approved March 26, 1863, makes it the duty of the President to appoint a Commissioner to make appraisements in each State where property shall be taken for public use, and to request the Governors of such States respectively to appoint a second Commissioner to act in conjunction with the first, who shall receive as compensation eight dollars per day and ten cents per mile mileage, to be paid by the Confederate Government.

I have the honor to inform you that, in compliance with this direction, I have appointed (W. R. D. Ward, for Texas; John Finlayson, for Florida; B. F. Perry, for South Carolina; J. W. C. Watson, for Mississippi; Richard Nugent, for Louisiana; W. C. Benery, for Arkansas) Commissioners for the States of (mentioned in connection with their names), and to request that you will select another to serve with him.

Very truly and respectfully
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Governor (of each of the above named States):

Sir:

I am directed by the President to express to you his regret that an accident has delayed the transmission of this letter until today.

Very respectfully
(Signed) BURTON N. HARRISON,
Private Secretary

Richmond, Va.
May 29, 1863.

The Governors of the other States had sent notice of their selection of Commissioners before this circular was issued.

B. N. H.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, April 18, 1863

Sir:

In response to your letter of the 7th ult. covering a copy of a Preamble and Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia

relative to the imprisonment of C. A. J. Collins, I have the honor to forward a Report of the Secretary of War on the case.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, April 20, 1863

Your dispatch received. To promote Genl. Stewart there must be a division without a commander to which he may be assigned. If an officer is unfit to discharge the duties of his station the law provides the mode of proceeding in his case and I could not be expected to transfer an officer from one army because considered incompetent and assign him to a similar command in another.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(In cypher)

Richmond, April 21, 1863

Since the 20th March to this date, eight 10 in. guns, one 7 in. rifle, three 30 pdr. Parrotts, one 24 pdr. rifle, one 8 in. Howitzer and two 6.4 in. double bd. Brookes have been sent you. Sixteen in all. Two 10 in. nearly ready for shipment. Anticipating your wants of heavy guns, I have endeavored to provide for them and will continue as far as practicable to supply you. Ammunition above the supply sent you with each gun, it was reported was supplied you from Selma and Montgomery. If your requisitions are not complied with promptly advise at once by telegraph.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(In cypher)

Richmond, (probably April 22, 1863)

The telegram announcing the advance of the enemy on Alexandria has been received. Have you any information as to the

forces of Genl. Smith and his disposition of them against the reported movement of the enemy? As far as possible, I wish you to keep up communication with Genl. Smith to secure co-intelligence between you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(In cypher)

Richmond, (probably Apr. 22, 1863)

Have you tried the use of fire rafts, to be set adrift from the Cove, at upper batteries of Vicksburg, to float down the river, when boats are attempting to pass? Covered with pine or dry cypress, they would be dangerous to passing vessels and at least would serve by lighting the river to aid the gunners in their aim. Have you tried anchoring fire rafts in the river on dark nights?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress.

(From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Richmond Va. April 23, 1863.

To the Senate and
House of Representatives

I herewith transmit, for your consideration in Secret Session, a communication from the Secretary of the Navy submitting an Estimate of the amount required to meet the charges upon Exchange for the Sum recently appropriated for the use of the Navy Department abroad.

I recommend an additional appropriation of the amount for the purpose specified or such provision as will secure to the Department the use of the appropriation in funds current at the place where required.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Confederate States of America,
Navy Department,
Richmond, April 23rd 1863.

The President
Sir,

Congress has, in Secret Session, appropriated for the service of this Department abroad Five Millions Two Hundred Thousand ($5,200,000) Dollars.

This amount we require in currency equal to Sterling. It is understood by the Secretary of the Treasury and myself that this appropriation is to be paid out of the Erlanger loan, but he notifies me that he will charge this Department an Exchange of three for one upon it.

I have the honor herewith to submit an Estimate to meet this Exchange.

Very Respectfully
Your obt. Servt.
S. B. Mallory
Secretary of the Navy.

Estimate of the amount to purchase Exchange to place abroad the five millions two hundred thousand dollars appropriated by Secret Act No. 40, approved April 18th 1863, at the rate proposed to be charged by the Treasury Department which is three for one.

To purchase Exchange to place abroad five millions two hundred thousand dollars at the rate of three for one..... $10,400,000.

Ten Millions four hundred thousand Dollars

Navy Department
April 23rd 1863
S. B. Mallory
Secretary of the Navy.

Referred to the Com. on Finance.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., near Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Substance of Telegram

Richmond, April 29, 1863

One half of Col. Rhett's command (600 men and one battery) leave to night by rail for Gordonsville. The remainder go to-morrow morning.

Genls. Longstreet, French, and D. H. Hill have been telegraphed on the subject of reinforcements, but have not yet been heard from.

Three regiments of cavalry from Western Va. supposed to be en route to join you, but have not been heard from; neither has anything been heard from the two cavalry regiments in No. Carolina.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to the Senate of the Confederate States of America.

(From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

To the Senate of the Confederate States of America.

I have duly considered the Senate Bill entitled "An Act to authorize newspapers to be mailed to soldiers free of postage."

Sympathizing fully with the evident purpose to contribute to the comfort of our gallant defenders, I feel nevertheless constrained to return to you the bill with the objections which have seemed to me paramount.

Article 1. Sec. 8. Clause 7 of the Constitution provides that the "expenses of the Post office Department, after the 1st day of March in the Year of our Lord, 1863, shall be paid out of its own revenues."

If the clause of the Constitution is imperative and not merely directory, the second section of the bill in providing that all papers sent to soldiers through the Postoffice in the manner described in the first section of the bill shall be a charge on the Treasury, is deemed to conflict with this clause.

I am confirmed in the belief that such is the intent and effect of this provision of the Constitution by reference to the 1st Clause of the 8th Sec. which clearly defines the purposes for which, and the limitations under which taxes may be levied and the construction is still further enforced by a knowledge of the evils which the Convention sought to prevent by prohibiting the expenses of the Post office Dept. from being a charge upon the Treasury.

In the consideration of this bill I have not been unmindful of the fact that appropriations are made to pay the expenses of transporting the official correspondence of the different Departments of the Government; but this is regarded as merely the payment by the Government of the cost of transmitting its own correspondence, and bears no analogy to legislation granting a bounty in furtherance of any object however desirable and praiseworthy.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Executive office
April 30th 1863

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg., &c., Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, April 30, 1863

General Pemberton telegraphs that unless he has more cavalry, the approaches to North Mississippi are almost unprotected and that he can not prevent cavalry raids.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Comdg., &c., Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, April 30, 1863

Have telegraphed to General Johnston in reference to your want of cavalry. Am trying to get you some from South Alabama.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 2, 1863

Can you aid General Pemberton by furnishing for short service militia or persons exempt from military service, who may be temporarily organized to repel the invasion?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. Davis, Columbus, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 3, 1863

Your dispatch received. Genl. J. R. Davis' Brigade is now in the face of the enemy, and you will perceive by intelligence now going over the wires what our condition is. Genl. Pemberton

is engaged with the enemy south of Vicksburg and you know his necessities. I have no information in reference to the troops near Okolona. If they are militia, I cannot appoint a commander for them, if there be a brigade of Confederate troops without a Brigadier Genl., I will readily adopt the recommendation of the people of Aberdeen in relation to appointment of Gholson.[1]

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Nor. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 4, 1863

I have received your despatch and reverently unite with you in giving praise to God for the success with which He has crowned our arms.

In the name of the people I offer my cordial thanks to yourself and the troops under your command for this addition to the unprecedented series of great victories which your army has achieved.

The universal rejoicing produced by this happy result will be mingled with a general regret for the good and the brave who are numbered among the killed and the wounded.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 4, 1863

Your dispatch received. Arms and ammunition have been ordered forward to the Arsenal at Jackson, and I think we shall be able to supply all the force which you can raise. Four thousand rifles and muskets will be sent immediately from different points, the first of which should arrive in three or four days.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] S. J. Gholson, of Aberdeen, Miss.; brigadier-general C. S. A.; federal judge of Mississippi and representative in Congress before the War.

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 6, 1863

How and why is Brig. Genl. Martin [1] withdrawn from Mississippi, for service with the cavalry of which he was appointed?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 6, 1863

General Ed. Johnston will join you at once. There is difficulty in promoting Genl. Rodes [2] owing to limitation of law, but if necessary, it must be done.

Col. Gordon is appointed Brig. General.[3]

Secty. of War and Genl. Longstreet have notified you of movements of troops. Will write further.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of Northern Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 7, 1863

Have directed telegraph gigs with insulated wire to be sent you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Gen. W. T. Martin.
[2] Gen. Robert E. Rodes.
[3] Gen. John B. Gordon.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Comdg. Dept. of Missi. Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(In cypher)

Richmond, May 7, 1863

General Beauregard insists that he cannot spare more than the five thousand men sent. I hope he may change his view. The prisoners taken at Post of Arkansas will be sent to you as soon as practicable, number say three thousand. Four thousand arms have been sent to Col. Stockton. Will endeavor to send more if more are required to arm the militia furnished to you.

Accounts given of troops about Columbus, particularly cavalry, indicate great want of proper commanders.

If Lt. Col. Ferguson is disposable he might with temporary rank render them efficient.

Am anxiously expecting further information of your active operations. Want of transportation for supplies must compel the enemy to seek a junction with their fleet after a few days absence from it. To hold both Vicksburg and Port Hudson is necessary to our connection with Trans-Mississippi.

You may expect whatever it is in my power to do for your aid.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 7, 1863

Your despatches received relieving anxiety as to U. S. Ford. General Edward Johnson, I am informed, goes up in the morning.

Your recommendation of General Rodes adopted.

He is promoted accordingly.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. Whitfield, Bishop Paine, Hon. Jas. T. Harrison, Dr. Sykes [1]

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 8, 1863

Gentlemen:

I have duly reflected on the important matters presented by you in our interview and have carefully considered the letters submitted by you at the same time, to-wit: the letter addressed to myself by the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Columbus and the report of the committee appointed to consider the means for defense of the city of Columbus and Valley of Tombigbee, as well as the memorandum submitted by Bishop Payne in reference to the number, condition and disposition of the troops in North Eastern Mississippi.

The subject had not failed previously to command my attention and I had already striven better to provide for the defence of a section important to the well being of the Confederacy, and, from many personal considerations, deeply interesting to me. It would be needless to explain to you how far my ability falls short of my earnest desire, or to recount the causes which so often prevent me from affording that full protection to various portions of our common country which is called for by every consideration that can animate manly and patriotic breasts or excite a public officer to greatest exertion. To supply as far as practicable the want created by the transfer of Genl. Van Dorn's cavalry to the field of operations in Tennessee, all the disposable mounted force in South Alabama was ordered up, and inquiry was instituted to ascertain whether Genl. Van Dorn with his command could not be consistently returned to the Department from which he had been withdrawn.

The repulse of the enemy at Charleston relieving our immediate necessities at that place, call was made for eight or ten thousand troops to be sent to reinforce Genl. Pemberton. Five thousand infantry and some field artillery were detached for that purpose, the commanding General thinking that a greater number could not be spared. To arm the militia called out by the Governor of Mississippi, four thousand arms with a supply of ammunition have been sent forward with an assurance that more would be furnished, if more men could be raised to bear them. Since your arrival, the prisoners captured at the Post of

[1] Influential citizens of Columbus, Miss.

Arkansas, say 3000 in number, have been ordered as soon as they could be prepared for the purpose to proceed to the command of Genl. Pemberton; and to remedy the defects pointed out by you in the discipline and instruction of the mounted forces in North East Mississippi, a well trained and highly competent cavalry officer, now under Genl. Pemberton's command, has been selected, and, if disposable, will be sent to embody that mounted force, and he will I hope be able promptly to correct many of the defects which you have enumerated.

The information received rendering it probable that Genl. Van Dorn's command could not at this time be sent back to Mississippi, inquiry has been made whether Genl. Forrest with his brigade could not be detached from the Army of Tennessee and assigned to duty in North Mississippi. What else it may be possible for me to do, depends upon the fluctuating tide of war. You can however assure our fellow citizens for whom you act, that their condition has not been overlooked, that their sufferings have been fully sympathized with and that their necessities will be ever remembered.

Genl. Pemberton, commanding the Department, has my full confidence, and will, I think, in the progress of events entirely justify the faith with which he has been received by the people of Mississippi. Allow me to suggest the propriety of organizing all those who cannot take the field either as militia or Confederate troops, for such defence of towns and bridges as may be afforded by men who are only able on an emergency to go out for a few hours or days to repel plundering and devastating parties who may attempt raids upon their respective localities. Without such previous organization, there will be confusion and delay, if not want of concert, fatal to any effective action, and the troops must either be so dispersed as to destroy their strength or important places be exposed to destruction by small bands of mounted marauders.

The freedom with which I have written to you and the minuteness with which I have stated facts in relation to the disposition of our troops, will sufficiently indicate that this letter is confidential, except in so far as it may be needful to you to communicate its general tenor to those for whom you act.

Please offer my most friendly remembrance to the people of North East Mississippi and accept for yourselves the best wishes of

Your friend and fellow citizen

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 12, 1863

I have impressed upon the Governor the necessity to aid you by calling out all who can render even temporary service, and have ordered arms and ammunition to meet wants which will thus be created.[1] The efforts to supply you with cavalry have not been successful, but it may be that you can get mounted men from volunteers of the country. The reinforcements sent to you should now be arriving. In your situation much depends upon the support and good will of the people. To secure this, it is necessary to add conciliation to the discharge of duty. Patience in listening to suggestions which may not promise much is sometimes rewarded by gaining useful information. I earnestly desire that, in addition to success, you should enjoy the full credit of your labors. We look anxiously and hopefully for the next intelligence of your campaign.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 13, 1863

To save time and give the exchanged prisoners opportunity to prepare for active service in Mississippi, hereafter, a temporary exchange was made for an equal number of Genl. Bragg's army. They must be on their way and should very soon be with you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Z. B. Vance to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

State of North-Carolina,
Executive Department,
Raleigh, May 13, 1863.

His Excellency
President Davis,
Dear Sir,

I receive information from our Generals in the field that desertion is alarmingly on the increase in the army, and have called

[1] Grant's campaign against Vicksburg.

upon me to use my exertions to check it so far as I could among the troops from North Carolina.

Since my assumption of office my best energies have been faithfully addressed to this matter and not without some success. But many difficulties have interposed. In the first place I found great difficulty in organizing a raw and inexperienced militia so as to make them efficient in arresting armed soldiers, their neighbors, friends and kindred. After getting this organization into some shape, a rencontre between a squad of my officers and some deserters and conscripts took place in Yadkin county, in which two of the former were killed. The slayers were arrested, placed in prison, obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus* returnable before Chief Justice Pearson who discharged the prisoners on the ground that the Governor, in the absence of express enactments, had no authority to arrest deserters and conscripts, which pertained to the Confederate authorities alone, and therefore these men had committed no offence in resisting an unauthorized arrest &c. I had previously applied to the Legislature for authority to arrest deserters, and to pass a law making it penal to harbor and conceal them, which was declined on much the same grounds as those assigned by the Chief Justice, to wit: that it was the business of Congress to provide for the execution of its own laws &c.

I then applied to Congress by a suggestion to Mr. Dortch, Senator from this State, who informed me that Congress had also declined to take action in the matter; for what reason I do not know. Balked thus in all my attempts, about to incur the imputation of exceeding my rightful authority, and risking my militia to be shot down with impunity, I could but revoke my orders; and substituted merely a command that they should aid the Confederate officers as a *posse* when requested.

In the meantime news of Judge Pearson's decision went abroad to the army in a very exaggerated and ridiculous form; soldiers were induced to believe that it declared the Conscript law unconstitutional and that they were entitled, if they came home to the protection of the civil authorities. Desertion, which had been temporarily checked, broke out again worse than before. Letters from Gen. D. H. Hill, Brig. Genl. W. S. Pender and others were rec'd, imploring me to take some steps to stop this fearful evil and restore the efficiency of the army. My own observation convinced me of the importance of their suggestions, and though not concurring in their estimate of my ability to remedy the evil I yet resolved to do all in my power.

I have therefore reissued my orders to the militia, have called

out considerable bodies of them to guard the roads, ferries, &c., and issued a proclamation appealing to the people to assist me in the arrest and return of deserters and to the extent of my powers shall strive to repress this fearful danger.

Inasmuch as you have power to call out the militia of the Confederacy for certain purposes, and as no one denies your right to arrest deserters from the armies of which you are commander in chief, would it not give validity to my action if I proceeded under your request or requisition? I do not know what steps have been taken by other Southern Governors in this matter, and it would seem invidious to make a requisition alone upon North Carolina for the militia for this purpose, as implying that there were more desertions from this State than any other, which I hope and believe is not true, except in so far as our troops are nearer to their homes and therefore more tempted than those further South. I refer of course to our armies in Va. and N. C.; those in the South and West I know nothing about. Even this should not however stand in the way of my rendering all possible aid to the Confederacy if necessary that it should be done. But if you could fall upon some arrangement with the States, all of them, by which their militia could be legally employed in this service, I know that its results would be most happy in this State and I doubt not equally so in the others. I need not argue the matter, knowing a statement of the facts will be sufficient.

In this connection I beg leave also to say, that having made arrangements to capture and restore deserters, it is also equally, or decidedly more important, rather, to remove as far as possible the causes which move our troops to quit their colors. I do not believe that one case in a hundred is caused by disloyalty—have no apprehensions whatever on this score. Homesickness, fatigue, hard fare, &c., have of course much to do with it. The promise of the law of Conscription, that they *should* have furloughs, which has never been redeemed, is one *principal* cause beyond a doubt. They invariably offer this excuse when arrested. How this can be removed and this promise redeemed in the present exigencies of the service, I am of course unable to see. Another great cause—in fact almost the only one assigned by the last class of conscripts, is that they were refused permission to enter the regiments of their choice with their neighbors and relations. Large numbers actually threaten to desert before they leave camp and generally make good their threats. I have had the honor to urge this matter upon your attention on a former occasion, and I am now fully convinced that the

service loses in attempting to fill up certain regiments first, without regard to the wishes of the conscripts. The remedy is plain here, and we should no longer neglect it.

Pardon this *long* letter, far exceeding I fear, your ability to read, during the exacting pressure of the great events by which your time is engaged, and believe me to be,

Most respectfully,
Your obt. svrt.
Z. B. VANCE.

endorsed:

May 13th, 1863; Governor Vance, N. Car. In relation to desertions in N. Carolina; ans. May 22/63; File; Recd. May 16, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secretary of War.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 13, 1863

Sir:

In answer to the General Order No. 21 issued by Major Genl. Schenck and served by his order on Brig. Genl. W. E. Jones, you are requested to instruct Genl. Lee to issue a General Order to be served on the commander of the U. S. army now in his front.

That General Order will state that articles of clothing and accoutrement are legitimate objects of capture by either belligerent under the rules of war, and may be used by the captors at their pleasure for the equipment of their troops; that ample retaliation will therefore be used to repress any attempt to treat as spies or to punish in any manner officers or soldiers of the Confederacy who may be captured and condemned by the enemy solely because of their being possessed of or wearing clothing or accoutrements captured from the enemy.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 14, 1863

Your dispatch to the Secty. of War received. Anxiously wait for further information as to dispositions against the enemy. Have the reinforcements arrived?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Meridian, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 16, 1863

Plan approved. General Wharton will take back arrangements.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 18, 1863

Confederate officers are specially forbidden to seize State property. Your complaint will be investigated that where wrong has been done, restitution may be made.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Hd. Qtrs. via Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher) Telegram

Richmond, May 18, 1863

Have seen your dispatch of this date. The cavalry mentioned cannot reach you before weeks, others, larger and more practised cavalry I had hoped could be drawn to you from another part of your Dept. as suggested in telegram some time since. Several of the best infantry regiments if mounted might serve as substitute for the cavalry so much and immediately required. I hope you will have large accessions to your army, when advancing to attack, by the junction of militia and less organized bodies of citizens. Your presence will effect much to inspire confidence and activity. The enemy will probably seek to join his fleet at Warrenton, draw the remaining forces from the camp above Young's Point and prepare for land and water attack on the defences of Vicksburg. If you could unite with Pemberton and attack the enemy in his retrograde movement towards the river the chances would be much better. Every effort will be made to aid you and I desire to know fully your wishes.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 18, 1863

Send the people in Missi. to join Johnston and attack the enemy in rear. Do not let him get to the River or effect a junction with his reserve.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 20, 1863

Sir:

Continued illness which has confined me to my room during several weeks has prevented a more prompt reply to your letter of the 4th ult.

It gives me pleasure to learn that your wishes in the matter of transportation for the Army over the State Rail Road have been satisfactorily attended to. A recent letter from General Bragg informs me that at the time of his seizure of the cars on the Road he did not know that it belonged to the State, and assures me that he will hereafter use every precaution to prevent improper interference with its management.

The kind and emphatic terms in which you express your approval of the general measures of my Administration and convey assurances of future support, afford me much gratification.

That the war may be prosecuted with vigor and success co-intelligence and co-operation between the Confederate and State governments are necessary. I shall be glad at all times to receive an expression of your views upon matters of public policy, and shall always consider them with proper deference.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Enterprise,[1] *Miss.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 20, 1863

Arms and ammunition have been sent forward, and it is reported to me that since the 5th of April 16331 small arms have gone forward and are available in Mississippi.

Orders have been given to furnish as many more as are required by Genl. Johnston or Pemberton. You can get, I have no doubt, full supplies from the Ordnance officer of Genl. Pemberton.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Enterprise, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 21, 1863

Further directions given about arms and ammunition. Endeavor to reinforce Loring[2] so as to enable him to make the movement. Division of cavalry on its way to your aid.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, via Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 22, 1863

Brig. Genl. Jno. S. Bowen is appointed Maj. Genl. to meet the want specified in your dispatch. Genl. Loring becomes available for assignment to the division you designate. Field batteries and small arms are on the way to your command. Signed cypher was employed. If you have the book formerly used by us, will resort to that.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] After the capture of Jackson, the capital of the State, Governor Pettus made his headquarters for a short time at Enterprise, a town in Clarke County on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in East Mississippi.

[2] Gen. W. W. Loring.

Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 22, 1863

The vital issue of holding the Missi. at Vicksburg is dependent on the success of Genl. Johnston in an attack on the investing force. The intelligence from there is discouraging. Can you aid him? If so, and you are without orders from Genl. Johnston, act on your judgment.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, via Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 22, 1863

I do not understand recommendation for promotion of Brig. Genl. Wilson in your dispatch of 21st.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 22, 1863

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 13th inst. and fully appreciate your efforts to check the alarming increase of desertions which threaten such danger to our cause. Orders were long since issued for meeting one of the evils which you mention, and I dō not understand how the impression prevails that Conscripts are not allowed to select their own Companies.

In Gen. Order No. 82 of 3 Nov. 1862 Par. 2, Sect. 5, it is expressly enjoined on the Comdt. of each State that

"He will consult the wishes of the Conscripts in assigning them to Companies, or Regts. so far as may be consistent with the proper distribution, and will not separate men from the same County, district or parish, if it can be avoided. The same rule will be observed by the Comdrs. of Camps and in assigning Conscripts to Companies."

Under this order each Conscript can select his Company, (unless it be already full) and is secure from being forcibly separated from his friends and neighbors in the service.

I do not think your suggestion about calling out the militia to aid in apprehending deserters would have as good an effect as the organization of exempts under the law providing for local service. If you will refer to the Act. No. 229 of the Prov. Congress, app. August 21st 1862, you will see that volunteers may be accepted by the Executive, "for such special service as he may deem expedient." If companies of such volunteers could be organized, the muster-roll would set forth under the law the special service for which they are engaged; they could not be assigned to any other duty than that specified; they would be paid and fed when called out for that service; and the great advantage would be gained of having at all times a body of men already properly organized who would be prompt to act for local defence and would be in the Confederate service and therefore free from the objections made by the decision of Judge Pearson. Will you inform me whether in your opinion there would be any difficulty in forming such organizations to be composed exclusively of volunteers exempt from conscription?

If it be impracticable, there would be no other resource than to call out the militia, but if feasible I think these organizations would prove more effective. You will observe that our great advance in the local service organization over the militia results from the fact that when the militia is called out, it takes all classes from their labors and strips the country of those whose services are very important in other pursuits, while the local service organization would be composed of volunteers only and would probably leave the most valuable of the population available at home for their usual avocations.

Be assured you needed no apology for the length of your letter. The subject is too important and the tone of your remarks too public-spirited and patriotic to render your letter otherwise than most acceptable.

Very truly and respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c. Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 23, 1863

Your answer is in the spirit of patriotism heretofore manifested by you. The need is sore, but you must not forget your own necessities.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, via Canton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 23, 1863

Your first dispatch was so changed as to present the names of W. H. Taliaferro and Wilson—both supposed to be errors. Bowen was appointed supposing him to be with Loring. Since your dispatch received to day, gave order to appoint Walker Maj. Genl. Am making every effort to aid you, and hopeful of junction of your forces and defeat of the enemy.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, via Canton, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 23, 1863

Your dispatch of 19th received. I made every effort to reinforce you promptly, which I am aggrieved was not successful. Hope that Genl. Johnston will soon join you with enough force to break up the investment and defeat the enemy.[1] Sympathising with you for the reverses sustained. I pray God may yet give success to you and the brave troops under your command.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. Gill Shorter, Govr. of Alabama.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 23, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th inst., enclosing one from Mr. Hamilton in relation to the defences and forces around Mobile. The value of that city is fully appreciated, and any misfortune which should befall it would be deeply felt by the Confederacy. It will continue to be as it has been heretofore the earnest purpose of the government to ensure its safety.

The numerical superiority of the enemy often renders it absolutely necessary to withdraw more troops than we would desire

[1] Refers to the investment of Vicksburg.

from the garrisons of places not immediately threatened, to provide for the defence of other points of great importance which are menaced or actually assailed. The only remedy which has suggested itself to me as suited to such circumstances would be for State or municipal authorities to organize all exempts for local defence, to be called out only when attack is threatened, but not to be taken from the neighborhood.

The observation of Mr. Hamilton in reference to the protection of the Railroads indicates the use made of the troops. They would avail nothing in that regard if kept in Mobile. The fall of the country would involve the final loss of Mobile however strong its garrison, and, with small supplies the fall would be sooner as the garrison should be larger.

It is believed that the enemy cannot detach troops from Louisiana while vigorously pressed by us there. Under present circumstances Mobile will be best protected by success in Mississippi; but in every event all shall be done in the power of the Government for the protection of Mobile and Alabama, as for other parts of the country.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. Gill Shorter, Govr. of Ala. Montgomery, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 24, 1863

The Secretary has shown me your letter. You need no assurance of my confidence and regard. The office is one which has a power to affect your State politically for a generation. Send me another name,—the best, the highest, and truest of the land who can do the duty and accept the office.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Canton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 24, 1863

I concur in your reliance on the tenacity with which Genl. Pemberton will defend his position, but the disparity of numbers

renders prolonged defence dangerous. I hope you will soon be able to break the investment, make a junction and carry in munitions. Genl. Rains [1] who has made valuable invention is ordered to you for special service and will I think be useful both on land and river. Genl. Bragg has probably communicated with you. If my strength permitted I would do to you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va. near Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 26, 1863

Was mistaken as to your views in regard to Pender and Heth. Wait for letter.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army No. Va. near Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 26, 1863

General:

Yours of the 25th, with its enclosure, was received last night; and I find that, to some extent, your views as contained in the letter of the 20th were misapprehended.

I inferred from the first letter that you considered Heth by seniority and equal merit the preferred candidate for promotion; but that you doubted the propriety of promoting him because a former nomination to make him Maj. Genl. had failed in the Senate.

I felt the high commendation you bestowed upon Pender to be fully due to him, having marked his conduct in the campaign before Richmond with peculiar admiration. I did not suppose Ransom to be included in the comparison, because the proposition to form a Division of Ransom's, Cook's and Pettigrew's Brigades, in conjunction with the high estimate I knew you put upon Ransom, indicated him as your probable preference for the command of that Division.

[1] Gen. James E. Rains.

As the case now stands, I perceive that Pender might be promoted to command the Division formed of four Brigades of A. P. Hill's former Division, and Heth to command a Division to be formed of the Brigades of Heth, Archer and two others; but it would seem hard that Ransom's Brigade should be one of them.

This either postpones Ransom's promotion or separates him from the army immediately commanded by yourself, which I believe would not be agreeable to him. The only alternative would be, regarding your letter and that of Genl. Hill as concluding the question of Pender's promotion, to cancel the promotion of Heth or accepting the condition of separating Ransom from the army of N. Va., he might be promoted and sent to Missi., or exchanged for French or Whiting, by sending one of them to Missi. You will realize the embarrassment resulting from the fact of Heth's appointment before your second letter arrived. For tho' the letter of appointment might be withheld, the fact of its having been made probably will be, if it has not been, communicated to him in some unofficial form.

I have nothing from Genl. D. H. Hill since he left here. There are, however, reports of active operation in the direction of Newberne. It may be the reconnaissance in force which he had in contemplation.

Enclosed is a sketch handed to me by Dr. Garnett intended to represent what Genl. Wise found at West Point. The small parallelograms are intended to show where the enemy have constructed earth works. They are said to front towards the River, and as they can not be designed to operate against our boats in the Mattapony, must have been to resist an attack anticipated from the N. E. side of that river. The force there was said to be small, perhaps a brigade. Our intelligence from Missi. is, on the whole, encouraging. Pemberton is stoutly defending the entrenchments at Vicksburg, and Johnston has an army outside, which I suppose will be able to raise the siege, and combined with Pemberton's forces may win a victory.

Many thanks for your friendly solicitude. My health is steadily improving. And if we can have good news from the West, I hope soon to be quite well again.

Genl. Bragg has bravely and patriotically detached strong reinforcements to Genl. Johnston, so much so that I have had to warn him to be mindful of his own necessities. We are attempting by addresses to the Governors of the States to get forces for local defense by the organization of the exempts into corps of minute men, who are to respond to any call for the

defence of cities, rail roads, bridges, &c. In proportion to the success of this effort, disciplined troops will be relieved from such duties, and made available for active operations in the field.

I have been glad to learn from the Govr. of No. Car. that the decision of Judge Pearson did not touch the question of the constitutionality of the Conscript Law; but only covered the legality of employing the militia to arrest deserters. The decision against the right thus to use the militia paralized the efforts of Govr. Vance thus to aid us in that regard.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., May 26, 1863

Hon. W. L. Yancey,
Montgomery, Alabama,
Sir:

Your letters of the 26th ult. and 6th inst. were together laid before me this morning.

In the last you inform me that you had learned after writing the first that I entertained personal enmity towards you. Will you have the goodness to inform me how you acquired that information? Not having made any declaration to that effect, I think I have a right to inquire.

It is true that for some time past the impression has been made upon me that you were in opposition to my Administration, and that it was not of that measured kind that results from occasional difference of opinion, but does not disturb good wishes and desire to give support. I was sure you had no right to feel personal hostility towards me, and hoped you might not.

Concurring in your view of the appointing power and having, as numerous instances attest, appointed persons holding to me no relations of personal friendship, and refused to appoint others very affectionately regarded by me, because it was as a trustee I acted, your letter of recommendation will be referred and your note withdrawing the application will be retained by me as a private communication.

I am &c &c
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Canton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cipher) Telegram

Richmond, May 28, 1863.

The reinforcements sent to you exceed by say seven thousand the estimate of your dispatch of 27th inst. We have withheld nothing which it was practicable to give. We cannot hope for numerical equality and time will probably increase the disparity.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 29, 1863

General Hill says he has reported to you as to condition in No. Carolina.

To withdraw Ransom's Cooke's and Jenkins' Brigades is to abandon the country to the enemy if last information be correct. Jenkin's Brigade was changed for the one which had previously guarded the approach across the Blackwater and which is understood to have gone up with Genl. Pickett. Ransom has been promoted to relieve Genl. French ordered to Mississippi.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher) Telegram

Richmond, May 30, 1863

Your dispatch of 28th received. The Sec. of War reports the reinforcement ordered to you as greater than the number you request. Added to the forces you have from Pemberton's Army, he states your whole force to be thirty four thousand exclusive of militia. Bowen and Walker promoted; French and Breckenridge ordered to you will I hope meet your want of Maj. Genls. If another be required S. D. Lee is, I think, equal to that grade. Officers in the field here cannot be sent to you without too great

delay. The troops sent to you were so fully organized that I suppose you will have little trouble as to organization, unless it be of militia. Col. Stockton can probably answer your requisitions for ammunition. You no doubt will be embarrassed by deficiency of field transportation. The recent robberies have diminished the amount in the country.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Govr. of No. Carolina.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 30, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., covering a copy of a letter captured from the enemy, in which a plan is proposed to General Foster for a general insurrection of the slaves on the night of August first, to destroy rail road bridges, &c.

Please accept my thanks for the information conveyed. The matter has been referred to the special attention of the Secretary of War, who will communicate a warning to Generals commanding armies in the field.

Very truly and respectfully yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, May 30, 1863

It is embarrassing to be called on for orders, and when they are given to be met with opinions previously invited but withheld. I will endeavor to have the matter explained and will communicate result. The command on the Blackwater, substituted by Jenkins' Brigade, was reported to me as transferred to Pickett's division—will make inquiry; also will enquire about the retained regiments of Pettigrew's, and Daniel's brigades. But half the case had been laid before me when my telegram was sent to you, and I then supposed you were mistaken.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, May 31, 1863

General:

Yours of the 30th was delivered to me last night. Before it was received, General Cooper had sent a dispatch to Genl. D. H. Hill which opened the correspondence of which you will find copies enclosed.

I had never fairly comprehended your views and purposes until the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and now have to regret that I did not earlier know all that you had communicated to others. I could hardly have misunderstood you, and need not say, would have been glad to second your wishes, confiding as I always do, as well in your judgment as in your information.

The reports in relation to the enemy at West Point are not, I fear, quite reliable; but in the uncertainty of the case, it had appeared to me that it might be well to bring up a brigade of Genl. Hill's force and place it on the south side of James river, sufficiently near to the ponton bridge to be used in any operations which a movement of the enemy on the north side might require. The recommendation of Genl. Hill in relation to Ransom's brigade, tho' not quite the same, may answer the purpose, and I have confidence in the cordiality and alacrity with which Ransom would meet such requirement. Genl. Hill having mentioned Cook's brigade as one which he is disposed to exchange, it seemed best to order it up, and rely upon his supplying its place, at least partially, by the organization of the various guards and the battalion at Salisbury, which he had asked for authority to embody in his army. I complete Heth's division without creating complaint on the part of North Carolinians, it seemed to me desirable that there should be but one N. Carolina brigade in it. To observe that condition, we had to choose between Jenkins' S. C. brigade and Davis' of Missi. As Jenkins had been commanding on the Blackwater, and was supposed to be acquainted with the country, and Davis was temporarily absent, it was thought for that and minor reasons better to detach Davis' brigade. If Genl. Hill's force should prove inadequate, as the season advances, we should be able to draw further from the troops in South Carolina and Georgia. Mr. Sedden, however, thinks nothing more is to be obtained there. You will perceive that no destination is given by the

Adt. Genl. to the brigades drawn from Genl. Hill. Please send your orders to this place so that the troops may be moved in conformity to your wishes.

By the proposed arrangement, you will have lost, without receiving anything in exchange, the brigade of Evans, as being able to get no trace of the troops for which Jenkins' brigade was reported to have been exchanged. I can only wonder as to what constituted the command on the Blackwater before the troops from Western Va. went there. From the account which Genl. Hill gave of a part of his cavalry, I do not think you would be benefited by receiving that which he proposes to send you. He asked for and received conditional authority to dismount a portion of that force.

I note your request to be relieved of the command of the troops between the James river and the Cape Fear. This is one of the few instances in which I have found my thoughts running in the opposite direction from your own. It has several times occurred to me that it would be better for you to control all the operations of the Atlantic slope, and I must ask you to reconsider the matter.

I wish I knew how to relieve you from all anxiety concerning movements on the York or James river against Richmond while you are moving towards the North and West; but even if you could spare troops for the purpose, on whom could you devolve the command with that feeling of security which would be necessary for the full execution of your designs? I readily perceive the disadvantage of standing still, and surely regret that I can not give you the means which would make it quite safe to attempt all that we desire. That any advantage should have been lost by delay is sad enough where the contest, at best, was so very unequal as to give little room for the exercise of what Genl. Chas. Lee called "that rascally virtue," prudence. I do not know what success we shall have in organizations for local defence, but should it be all which I can hope, you know how far our army will still fall short of the numerical strength of the enemy. Missouri, Kentucky, the most populous portions of Tennessee and Louisiana are contributing nothing to recruit the army. If Genl. Kirby Smith should have success on the West side of the river, he will soon have a large force by volunteers from Mo. and southern La. Genl. Johnston did not, as you thought advisable, attack Grant promptly, and I fear the result is that which you anticipated if time was given. The last intelligence indicates that Grant's army is concentrating on the Yazoo, where he connects with his gunboats and river transpor-

tation, and threatens the line of communication between Jackson and Vicksburg. The position, naturally strong, may soon be intrenched, and with the heavy guns which he can bring by water, will require to be reduced by some other means than a direct attack. It is useless to look back, and it would be unkind to annoy you in the midst of your many cares with the reflections which I have not been able to avoid. All the accounts we have of Pemberton's conduct fully sustain the good opinion heretofore entertained of him, and I hope has secured for him that confidence of his troops which is so essential to success.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c. Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 2, 1863

Your dispatch to the Adjutant General received. Send Hon. C. L. Vallandigham[1] as an alien enemy under guard of an officer to Wilmington where further orders await him.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. I. G. Harris, Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 2, 1863

Dispatch of yesterday received. Instructions sent to Genl. Bragg as suggested.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Vallandigham, Clement Laird (1820-1871), a politician, was born at new Lisbon, Ohio, July 29, 1820, received a classical education, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He was a member of the Ohio legislature, 1845-1846; edited the Dayton Empire, 1847-1849, and aligned himself with the eastern State rights wing of the Democratic party. He served as a member of the Ohio delegation in Congress from May 25, 1858, to March 3, 1863. He was arrested by General Burnside for speeches attacking the administration, and was sent out of the Union lines, going first to Bermuda and then to Canada. During his absence in Canada he was nominated for governor of Ohio on the Democratic ticket but was not elected. He died while arguing a case in the court room at Lebanon, Ohio, June 17, 1871. Consult Life of Clement L. Vallandigham, 573 pp, Baltimore, 182.

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. G. J. Rains,[1] *Richmond, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

General: Richmond, June 3, 1863

Yours of the 31st ult., but only left my office this morning, has been read with much surprise and disappointment. Your apprehension that you could not reach Missi. soon enough to make your submarine and sub terra shells effective against the enemy at Vicksburg, I had expected would have secured haste in your movements, yet after a lapse of time, nearly if not quite sufficient to have enabled you to reach the field of operations, I learn that you have not started.

I heard your misgivings, growing out of the belief that Genl. Johnston would not favor the use of your inventions, and answered, at the time, the various points presented by you. Your letter received this morning renews the expression of your preference for a different field of operations, and I have no wish further to urge the importance of the duty to which you are assigned, and the necessity for great promptness in its execution. The successful employment of your submarine shells in the Yazoo river offered to my mind the best hope of preventing the enemy from bringing supplies, especially heavy guns, to the position he is said to have taken at Snyder's Bluff. This purpose, I fear, you may not now be in time to execute.

If you are not prepared to go at once, I prefer, even at this late period, to be informed of the fact, and to select another person for the duty.

Your letter has a caption, to wit: "Reasons for printing." I stated to you that the objection to printing your memoir upon the use of submarine and sub terra shells, was that no printed paper could be kept secret. Your invention would be deprived of a great part of its value if its peculiarities were known to the enemy.

The manuscript copy, which you left with me, is subject to your order. I supposed it was a duplicate, and might be used by me for the information of commanding generals in the field, by making extracts of those portions which are applicable to operations against the enemy.

Very respectfully yr. obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] (1803-1881). Graduate of West Point in 1827; famous for gallantry in Seminole War and War with Mexico; brigadier-general C. S. A.; in charge of torpedo bureau in Richmond; mined with torpedoes the harbors of Charleston, Savannah and Mobile; inventor of a sub-terra shell which was used with success in the War for Southern Independence.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 4, 1863

Yours of June 3rd received. My dispatch of May 18th was intended to prevent the evils which you now describe. I have not the power to comply with the request you make. Had it been otherwise your application would have been anticipated. Genl. Johnston has never announced any accession to his force from the militia or exempts of the State. I relied much on the aid they would give him. To furnish the reinforcements sent to Mississippi we have drawn from other points more heavily than was considered altogether safe.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Judge Iverson L. Harris,[1] *Milledgeville, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 5, 1863

Will you accept the office of Commissioner of Taxes to reside in Richmond, salary three thousand per annum.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. Fredericksburg, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 6, 1863

The reported movement of the enemy on the Mattapony and into King William led Genl. Elzey to give orders to Genls. Wise & Pettigrew and to send information to Genl. Pickett. I have just learned that the case was not reported to you. A part of Davis' Brigade went on the cars this morning. The remainder march to the junction, and if R. R. transportation is furnished there, should reach you to-morrow.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

[1] Harris, Iverson L., a jurist, was a native of Georgia, and graduated at Franklin college (University of Georgia) in 1823. He made the law his profession; was appointed a judge of the Superior Court in 1859, and a judge of the Supreme Court of the State in 1866. Under the constitution of 1868 he was not continued on the Supreme Court bench. He died at his home in Milledgeville, Ga., in 1876.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Quarters A. N. Va. June 7th, 1863

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Conf. States,
Mr. President,

I commenced to draw the army from the vicinity of Fredericksburg on Wednesday morning June 3rd.[1] McLaws' Division of Longstreet's corps moved on that day. It was followed Thursday morning by Rhodes' division and on Friday by Early's and Johnson's of Ewell's corps, Hood's division of Longstreet's corps which had been previously advanced to the Rapidan was directed on the 3rd inst. to move to Culpeper C. H. On the afternoon of Friday the 5th inst. the enemy made open preparations to cross the Rapphk. at the old position at the mouth of Deep Run. After driving back our sharp shooters under a furious cannonade from their batteries by a force of skirmishers, they crossed a small body of troops and occupied the bank of the river. It was so devoid of concealment that I suppose the intention was to ascertain what forces occupied the position at Fredericksburg, or to fix our attention upon that place while they should accomplish some other object. I thought it prudent to send that night to Gen. Ewell to halt his march until I could see what the next day would develop, and placed A. P. Hill's corps in position to meet any attack that might be made the next morning. After watching the enemy's operations Saturday and being unable to discover more troops than could be attended to by A. P. Hill and no advance having been made by them, I sent forward to Gen. Ewell to resume his march and left Fredericksburg myself in the evening. My conclusion was that the enemy had discovered the withdrawal of our troops from Fredericksburg and wished to detain us until he could make corresponding changes. I have with me two divisions of Longstreet's corps and the three divisions of Ewell. I desire to

[1] The hopes of the Southern Confederacy were never higher than immediately after the victory of Fredericksburg and the despair of the North was perhaps greatest at that time. The stout hearts of the Northern people almost quailed in the face of the terrible and useless slaughter of so many brave souls. The diaries and private letters of Union soldiers written at the time give a vivid picture of the gloom which pervaded the army.

Fredericksburg was followed by Chancellorsville, and so great was the confidence of General Lee that he decided to shift the scene of combat to Northern soil by an invasion of Pennsylvania.

bring up the remaining division of Lonstreet (Picketts) and sent you a dispatch this morning requesting that Cook should be advanced to his place and that Jenkins should be brought from the Black river to replace Cook. If it is true as reported by Gen. Elsey that only 1500 of the enemy remain in Suffolk, Ransom's brigade will be more than sufficient for that line. West Point being evacuated and the force at Yorktown reduced, there is nothing to be apprehended from that quarter, and Cook and Jenkins should be directed to follow me as soon as you think it safe for them to do so. As far as I can learn the enemy appears to be extending at the Rapphk. from Fredericksburg. The whole line of the Rapphk. is guarded closely, every force defended and closely picketed to Beverly's above Rapphk. bridge. His cavalry massed along the line of the railway from Catlett's to Buleton, Stoneman's head quarters being at Shuwater on Cedar Run (Fauquier) I think if I can create an apprehension for the safety of their right flank and the Potomac, more troops will be brought from their line of their operations in the South. But to gain any material advantage, I should if possible have a large force, as their army by all accounts is represented as very large. If it is true as stated, in the Northern papers that Gen. Hunter's forces have been reduced by re-inforcements to send to the Gulf, it would be well for Gen. Beauregard with the forces made available by this withdrawal to be sent to re-inforce Johnston in the West or be ordered to re-inforce this army. If their troops remain where they are their services will be lost to the country and they will become a prey to disease.

I am with great respect,
Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee

Official C. S. Venable.

Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 8, 1863

General:

Your letter of the 3d inst. was received this morning.

My dispatch in relation to the Hon. Mr. Vallandigham indicated a course but little different from that which in the absence of instructions you had adopted.

In furtherance of our purpose, Mr. Ould, Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners of War, has been sent to Lynchburg

to meet Mr. Vallandigham and to conduct him to Wilmington whence his departure for a neutral port will be facilitated by all the courtesy and kindness due to his condition.

Very respectfully and truly,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. Culpeper C. H., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 8, 1863

The letter addressed to me of which Lt. Genl. Hill sent you a copy, I have reason to think is from Mr. . . . and the information obtained from one of . . . staff.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. A. P. Hill,[1] *Fredericksburg, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 8, 1863

Your letter received. The one enclosed, I think, was sent by Mr. . . . and that it gives . . . designs.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head quarters A. N. Va. June 9th 1863

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Confederate States,
Mr. President,

A letter from Gen. A. P. Hill dated 8 P.M. yesterday reports no change in the attitude of affairs at Fredericksburg. Two

[1] Hill, Ambrose Powell (1825-1865), a soldier, was born in Culpepper County, Va., November 9, 1825, graduated at West Point in 1847, and was assigned to the artillery. He saw service in Mexico and against the Florida Seminoles, and was in the office of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Washington, D. C., 1855-1860. He resigned in March, 1861, and when Virginia seceded was appointed colonel of the 13th Virginia Volunteers. For brilliant service under Longstreet he was rapidly promoted, becoming lieutenant general in May, 1863. He was killed in the defense of Petersburg, April 2, 1865.

batteries of light artillery have crossed to the south side of the Rappahannock since my departure and the enemy has constructed a line of rifle pits along the bank of the river extending from the mouth of Deep Run to Mansfield (Mr. Bernard's house) which defended the ground they occupy, Gen. Hill to test the enemy's strength in his front made a demonstration yesterday afternoon at Vinsneck, which caused him to send hurriedly north of the Rappahannock four regiments from the south side. This causes me to believe that he has not more troops at that place than are visible, though his main body may still be at or near Aquia. Scouts on the Potomac report a fleet of thirty three schooners unloaded passing up the river on last Friday and five steamers towing empty canal boats passing down. I should therefore conclude that the schooners were not intended for the transportation of troops down the river. I see by the U. N. Herald that the 12th N. Y. cavalry regt. is on its way to Newburn N. C. and that the transports Pocahontas and S. L. Tillery would sail from Newbern for Boston on the 8th inst. with the 44th Mass. regt. The Herald correspondent also states that with Gen. Foster five or six more regiments of cavalry and a few more brigades of infantry and artillery he could out turn the rebel army in Va. I infer from this and the statement that Gen. Wild had arrived at Newburn to organize an African brigade that Gen. Foster was not considered very strong. The plan stated in the letter (a copy of which was sent me by Gen. A. P. Hill) for destroying this army does not appear to me to be in a process of immediate execution, in as much as it seems to be certain that the enemy has abandoned West Point and diminished his place at Yorktown, Gloucester and Suffolk. As the writer is supposed to be in communication with Gen. Hooker, its object may have been to cause us to take [steps] to save this army and the city of Richmond. This course does not appear to me the most advantageous for us. But if you think differently I will pursue it. I am very respectfully,

Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee.
Genl.

Official
C. S. Venable,
Maj. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. E. Brown, Govr. of Georgia.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 9, 1863

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 25th ult. reached me in due course and has received special attention.

I fully concur with you in the importance of affording adequate protection against the predatory attacks of the enemy to the railroads, workshops, and depots of supplies situated in the Western and North-western portions of your State; and I shall cheerfully co-operate with you to the extent of my power and the means at my disposal in taking the best measures to defend them.

I regret, however, that the pressing exigencies of the service at other points actually invaded or immediately menaced by the enemy will not permit that a regiment of cavalry should be detached from the armies in the field for the service which you suggest. But I think that the want may be supplied by the organization under the Act of Congress authorizing the raising of troops for "local defence and special service" of a regiment of non-conscripts whose muster-rolls would set forth the special service which it is intended they should perform, and who, when received into the service of the Confederate States, may be employed in conjunction with the State force for the purposes and in the manner recommended by you.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 10, 1863

Your telegram received. The appointment is entirely within your discretion and if your choice calls upon an officer of the Army who shall resign to accept the appointment, his resignation will be accepted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 11, 1863

Your dispatch received. Those who suggest that the arrival of Genl. French [1] will produce discontent among the troops because of his northern birth are not probably aware that he is a citizen of Missi., was a wealthy planter until the Yankees robbed him, and before the Confederate States had an army was the Chief of Ordnance and artillery in the force Missi. raised to maintain her right of secession. As soon as Missi. could spare him he was appointed a Brig. Genl. in the provisional army of the Confed. States and has frequently been before the enemy where he was the senior officer. If malignity should undermine him as it has another, you are authorized to notify him of the fact and to relieve him, communicating it to me by telegram. Surprised by your remark as to the general officers of northern birth, I turned to the register and find that a large majority of the number are elsewhere than in the Dept. of Missi. and Eastern La.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. A. J. Sanders, Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 11, 1863

My dear Madam:

On the receipt of yours of the 9th inst. referring to our conversation of the previous evening, I called on Mr. Mallory, Secy. of the Navy for a statement of his transactions with Genl. N. Sanders Esq. in relation to the building of vessels, and have the honor to enclose his reply.

The contract having been authorized by the Congress on conditions which were submitted to it, I have not regarded the discretionary authority given to the President as embracing those considerations which probably induced the Congress to pass the Act in its present form. My information in regard to the transaction is limited to that which is of record in Navy

[1] Samuel Gibbs French; graduate of West Point in 1843; promoted captain for gallantry in the War with Mexico; resigned in 1856; major-general C. S. A.

Dept., and there appears to be nothing there which reflects on your husband's good faith in the matter.

Surely I was not offended by anything you have done and am sorry that the dry manner of a business discussion should have induced you for a moment to suppose so. Nothing was further from my purpose than to question your husband's motive. I had no reason to do so, and if it had been otherwise it was not possible for me to have done so in his absence, to his wife, and in my house.

The Secy. of the Navy informed me that he had sent to you copies of all his correspondence concerning the contract of Mr. Sanders, and that I hope will relieve him of any imputation against his honor so justly dear to you.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Iverson L. Harris, Milledgeville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

My dear Sir: Richmond, June 12, 1863

Yours of the 6th inst., giving your reasons for declining the office of Chief Commissioner of Taxes, reached me in due course.

While I regret that the Government will not have the advantage of your services in so important an office, and that I shall not, as I had hoped, enjoy the closer intercourse with you which your residence in Richmond would have permitted, I feel satisfied of the wisdom of your decision.

I am well aware of your patriotic efforts to sustain the Government, and of the happy influence your example has had in your State in promoting harmony, union and confidence among the people.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Culpeper C. H., Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 12, 1863

The remarks on that letter were not designed as the expression of a judgment but merely an opinion on the possible value of the statements. Other information received by you will enable you to decide, and you are not restricted.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Dr. W. G. Poindexter, Enterprise, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 12, 1863

Your despatch shows you are greatly mistaken as to our resources. Everything which was practicable was promptly done to give General Johnston the requisite force. It was feared that delay would aid the enemy both by reinforcements and entrenchments.

Let every patriot who can bear arms join the army for temporary service at least in the defence of their homes and the support of the struggle for independence.

(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Alexander H. Stephens to Jefferson Davis.

(From Messages of the President.)

APPOINTMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT STEPHENS AS MILITARY COMMISSIONER TO UNITED STATES.

Liberty Hall, Ga., June 12, 1863.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir: I have just seen what purports to be a letter addressed to you by Major General D. Hunter, commanding the Federal forces at Port Royal, S. C., bearing date of the 23d of April last. Of the extraordinary character of this paper, its tone, temper, and import, whether genuine or not, it is not my purpose to speak. It may be a forgery. All I know of it is from its publication, as we have it in our newspapers. But it has occurred to me if it be genuine, this, together with other matters of controversy I see likewise in the papers, in relation to the future exchange of certain classes of prisoners of war, may necessarily lead to a further conference with the authorities at Washington upon the whole subject. In that event I wish to say to you briefly, that if you think my services in such a mission would be of any avail in effecting a correct understanding and agreement between the two Governments upon those questions involving such serious consequences, they are at your command.

You will remember while we were at Montgomery, when the first commissioners were sent to Washington with a view to

settle and adjust all matters of differences between us and the United States, without a resort to arms, you desired me to be one of those clothed with this high and responsible trust. I then declined, because I saw no prospect of success—did not think, upon a survey of the whole field, that I could effect anything good or useful in any effort I could *then* make on that line. You will allow me now to say that at *this time* I think *possibly* I might be able to do some good not only on the *immediate* subject in hand, but were I in conference with the authorities at Washington on *any point* in relation to the *conduct* of the war, I am not without hope that *indirectly* I could now turn attention to a general adjustment upon such basis as might ultimately be acceptable to both parties and stop the further effusion of blood in a contest so irrational, unchristian, and so inconsistent with all recognized American principles.

The undertaking, I know, would be a great one. Its magnitude and responsibility I fully realize. I might signally fail. This I also fully comprehend; but still, be assured, I am not without *some* hopes of success, and whenever or wherever I see any prospect of the *possibility* of being useful or of doing good I am prepared for any risk, any hazards, and all responsibilities commensurate with the object. Of course, I entertain but one idea of the basis of final settlement or adjustment; that is, the recognition of the sovereignty of the States and the right of each in its sovereign capacity to determine its own destiny. This principle lies at the foundation of the American system. It was what was achieved in the first war of Independence, and must be vindicated in the second. The full recognition of this principle covers all that is really involved in the present issue. That the Federal Government is yet *ripe* for such acknowledgment I, by no means, believe, but that *the time has come* for a proper presentation of the question to the authorities at Washington I do believe—such presentation as can be made only in a diplomatic way. While, therefore, a mission might be dispatched on a *minor* point, the greater one could possibly, with prudence, discretion, and skill, be opened to view and brought in discussion in a way that would *lead eventually* to successful results. This would depend upon many circumstances, but no little upon the character and efficiency of the agent. It so occurs to me, and so feeling I have been prompted to address you these lines. My object is, solely, to inform you that I am ready and willing to undertake such a mission with a view to such ulterior ends, if any fit opportunity offers in the present state of our affairs in relation to the exchange of prisoners, or

any other matter of controversy growing out of the *conduct* of the war, and if also you should be of opinion that I could be useful in such position. I am at your service, heart and soul, at any post you may assign me where I see any prospect of aiding, assisting, or advancing the great cause we are engaged in and of securing with its success the blessings of permanent peace, prosperity, and constitutional liberty.

Should the *present* position of affairs in your opinion be suitable, of which I am not so well informed as you are, and this suggestion so far meet your approval as to cause you to wish to advise further with me on the subject, you have but to let me know; otherwise no reply is necessary, and none will be expected.

With best wishes for you personally and our common country in this day of her trial, I remain yours, etc.,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Jefferson Davis to Alexander H. Stephens.

RICHMOND, July 2, 1863.

Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Richmond, Va.

Sir: Having accepted your patriotic offer to proceed as a military commissioner under flag of truce to Washington, you will receive herewith your letter of authority to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. The letter is signed by me, as Commander in Chief of the Confederate land and naval forces.

You will perceive from the terms of the letter that it is so worded as to avoid any political difficulties in its reception. Intended exclusively as one of those communications between belligerents which public law recognizes as necessary and proper between hostile forces, care has been taken to give no pretext for refusing to receive it on the ground that it would involve a tacit recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. Your mission is simply one of humanity, and has no political aspect.

If objection is made to receiving your letter on the ground that it is not addressed to Abraham Lincoln as *President*, instead of Commander in Chief, etc., then you will present the duplicate letter which is addressed to him as President and signed by me as President. To this letter objection may be made on the ground that I am not recognized to be President of the Confederacy. In this event you will decline any further attempt to confer on the subject of your mission, as such conference is admissible only on the footing of perfect equality.

My recent interviews with you have put you so fully in pos-

session of my views that it is scarcely necessary to give you any detailed instructions, even were I at this moment well enough to attempt it. My whole purpose is in one word to place this war on the footing of such as are waged by civilized people in modern times, and to divest it of the savage character which has been impressed on it by our enemies, in spite of all our efforts and protests. War is full enough of unavoidable horrors under all its aspects to justify and even to demand of any Christian rulers who may be unhappily engaged in carrying it on to seek to restrict its calamities and to divest it of all unnecessary severities. You will endeavor to establish the cartel for the exchange of prisoners on such a basis as to avoid the constant difficulties and complaints which arise, and to prevent for the future what we deem the unfair conduct of our enemies in evading the delivery of the prisoners who fall into their hands; in retarding it by sending them on circuitous routes, and by detaining them sometimes for months in camps and prisons; and in persisting in taking captive noncombatants.

Your attention is called also to the unheard-of conduct of Federal officers in driving from their homes entire communities of women and children, as well as of men, whom they find in districts occupied by their troops, for no other reason than because these unfortunates are faithful to the allegiance due to their States, and refuse to take an oath of fidelity to their enemies.

The putting to death of unarmed prisoners has been a ground of just complaint in more than one instance; and the recent execution of officers of our army in Kentucky, for the sole cause that they were engaged in recruiting service in a State which is claimed as still one of the United States, but is also claimed by us as one of the Confederate States, must be repressed by retaliation if not unconditionally abandoned, because it would justify the like execution in every other State of the Confederacy; and the practice is barbarous, uselessly cruel, and can only lead to the slaughter of prisoners on both sides—a result too horrible to be contemplated without making every effort to avoid it.

On these and all kindred subjects you will consider your authority full and ample to make such arrangements as will temper the present cruel character of the contest, and full confidence is placed in your judgment, patriotism, and discretion that, while carrying out the objects of your mission, you will take care that the equal rights of the Confederacy be always preserved.

Very respectfully, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Letter of President Davis to President Lincoln.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, RICHMOND, July 2, 1863.

Sir: As Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces now waging war against the United States, I have the honor to address this communication to you, as Commander in Chief of their land and naval forces.

Numerous difficulties and disputes have arisen in relation to the execution of the cartel of exchange heretofore agreed on by the belligerents, and the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners have been unable to adjust their differences. Their action on the subject of these differences is delayed and embarrassed by the necessity of referring each subject as it arises to superior authority for decision. I believe that I have just grounds of complaint against the officers and forces under your command for breach of the terms of the cartel, and, being myself ready to execute it at all times in good faith, I am not justified in doubting the existence of the same disposition on your part.

In addition to this matter, I have to complain of the conduct of your officers and troops in many parts of the country, who violate all the rules of war by carrying on hostilities not only against armed forces but against noncombatants, aged men, women, and children; while others not only seize such property as is required for the use of your forces, but destroy all private

[1] Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865), sixteenth President of the United States, was born near Hodgenville, Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, removed with his parents to Indiana in 1816, and with his father to Macon County, Illinois, in 1830. In the meantime he had at intervals received some elementary instruction in log-cabin school houses. In Illinois he followed various occupations, studied law, served in the Black Hawk War 1832, and was postmaster of New Salem, Ill., 1833-1836. He was admitted to the bar in 1836 and began practice at Springfield in 1837. He was a member of the Illinois State Legislature, 1834-1842 and a member of the national House of Representatives, 1847-1849. In 1858 he was engaged with Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic candidate for a seat in the U. S. Senate, in a memorable series of debates, in which he took a pronounced stand against slavery. Douglas won the senatorship, but two years later Lincoln was elected President of the United States. He served from Mar. 4, 1861, to Apr. 14, 1865; signed, Emancipation Proclamation January 1, 1863; delivered Gettysburg Address April 19, 1864; was renominated for the Presidency June 8, 1864; and was re-elected November 8, 1864. He entered Richmond with the Federal Army April 4, 1865; was shot by Wilkes Booth April 14, 1865; died April 15, 1865. He was buried at Oak Ridge, near Springfield, Ill., May 4, 1865. Biographies of Lincoln are numerous.

property within their reach, even agricultural implements; and openly avow the purpose of seeking to subdue the population of the districts where they are operating by the starvation that must result from the destruction of standing crops and agricultural tools.

Still, again, others of your officers in different districts have recently taken the lives of prisoners who fell into their power, and justify their act by asserting a right to treat as spies the military officers and enlisted men under my command, who may penetrate for hostile purposes into States claimed by me to be engaged in the warfare now waged against the United States, and claimed by the latter as having refused to engage in such warfare.

I have heretofore, on different occasions, have forced to make complaint of these outrages, and to ask from you that you should either avow or disclaim having authorized them, and have failed to obtain such answer as the usages of civilized warfare require to be given in such cases.

These usages justify, and indeed require, redress by retaliation as the proper means of repressing such cruelties as are not permitted in warfare between Christian peoples. I have, notwithstanding, refrained from the exercise of such retaliation, because of its obvious tendency to lead to a war of indiscriminate massacre on both sides, which would be a spectacle so shocking to humanity and so disgraceful to the age in which we live and the religion we profess that I cannot contemplate it without a feeling of horror that I am disinclined to doubt you would share.

With the view, then, of making one last solemn attempt to avert such calamities, and to attest my earnest desire to prevent them, if it be possible, I have selected the bearer of this letter, the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, as a military commissioner to proceed to your headquarters under flag of truce, there to confer and agree on the subjects above mentioned; and I do hereby authorize the said Alexander H. Stephens to arrange and settle all differences and disputes which may have arisen or may arise in the execution of the cartel for exchange of prisoners of war, heretofore agreed on between our respective land and naval forces; also to agree to any just modification that may be found necessary to prevent further misunderstandings as to the terms of said cartel; and finally to enter into such arrangement or understanding about the mode of carrying on hostilities between the belligerents as shall confine the severities of

the war within such limits as are rightfully imposed not only by modern civilization but by our common Christianity.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS,
Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces of the Confederate States.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces of the United States.

REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The request is inadmissible. The customary agents and channels are adequate for all needful military communications and conference between the United States forces and the insurgents.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. J. McRae,[1] Buckalona, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 13, 1863

I have done all which was in my power; should circumstances increase that power will avail of them. Use your influence to raise all who can serve for a short time and thus reinforce promptly.

The question of who can reinforce most heavily must, if time be allowed, be decided in favor of the enemy.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

(Repeated June 15, 1863.)

Richmond, June 13, 1863

Genl. Johnston communicates report of reinforcements to Grant going down the Mississippi. The estimated number thirty thousand.

Have you knowledge whence they were drawn? If from Rosecrantz, can you further aid the defence of Vicksburg, indirectly or directly, by advance or detachment?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Ex Gov. McRae of Mississippi

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. L. Polk, Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 15, 1863

Another had been appointed to be Commissioner for the State of Mississippi before the receipt of your telegram recommending Capt. B. J. Butler for the place.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 15, 1863

Your despatch of twelfth instant to Secy. of War noted. The order to go to Missi. did not diminish your authority in Tennessee, both being in the country placed under your command in original assignment. To what do you refer as information from me restricting your authority to transfer troops because no more could be spared.

Officers ordered to you for duty generally are of course subject to assignment by you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Qrs. 15th June 1863 7 A.M.

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
Prest. Conf. States,
Mr. President,

On the 10th I put Ewell's corps in motion for the Valley. He reports under date of the 13th that with Rodes' division he drove the enemy out of Berryville, and with Early's and Johnson's drove them within the entrenchments at Winchester where it seems he is more strongly fortified than supposed.[1] According to our understanding I presume he has advanced

[1] On June 3, 1863, General Lee began his movement into Maryland and Pennsylvania which culminated in the battle of Gettysburg. Generals Ewell, Hill and Longstreet corps commanders.

towards the Potomac leaving a division in front of Winchester. Gen. A. P. Hill reported yesterday that the Federal force in front of him withdrew from the south side of the Rapphk. on the night of 13th and by morning had nearly disappeared leaving strong pickets on the river. One division was seen going over the Stafford Hills in the directions of Aquia and he supposes the main body to have taken that route. Our scouts report a general movement of the army at the Rapphk. but I have got no certain information on that point. I know a large force has been thrown towards Warrentown. The uncertainty of the reports as to the advanced expeditions of the enemy along the coast of N. C. and between the Rapphk. and James river in Va. has caused delay in the movements of this army and it may now be too late to accomplish all that was desired. I still am ignorant as to the extent of the expedition said to be moving up the Peninsula and hesitate to draw the whole of A. P. Hill's corps to me. Two of Pickett's brigades are at Hanover Junction and Richmond. So that I am weak.

I am with great respect
Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
Genl.

Official
C. S. Venable
Maj. and A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to J. H. Maddox.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 15, 1863

Dear Sir:

I have in various forms answered representations against you, and one of the main points in the case, as viewed by me, was that having to serve your native South, taken hazards both to life and character, you now returned to remain and share the fate of the Confederacy, in the future contributing your aid in a form not less hazardous to life and safe as to reputation.

Am I correct in this view of the case, or does your letter convey the expression of a wish on your part to return to Maryland?

The service in which you were engaged almost necessarily exposed you to the suspicion of both parties, and I concurred in your view that the trip you have just made must be the last which you could make with any reasonable hope of success.

I have the memory of our first conversation quite perfectly; and am most surprised at the accuracy with which you had learned the places of the enemy.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. D. H. Hill, Petersburg, Va.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 16, 1863

To your letter I reply that if you can be spared in No. Ca., I would be glad to have your services in Missi.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 17, 1863

I do not find in my letter-book any communication to you containing the expression which you again attribute to me and cite as a restriction on you against withdrawing troops from Tennessee; and have to repeat my inquiry,—to what do you refer, —give date of despatch or letter?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. S. B. Buckner,[1] Comdg. &c. Knoxville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 17, 1863

General:

Genl. Johnston by telegram of 16th inst. suggests the propriety of extending the command of Genl. Bragg over East Tenn. I have not forgotten the readiness you expressed to accept yourself any arrangement or assignment which the public interest might indicate; but I have felt some doubt as to whether the proposition might not involve greater evils than that for which it was proposed as a remedy.

[1] Simon Boliver Buckner; class of 1844 West Point; promoted captain for gallantry in War with Mexico; resigned in 1855; lieutenant-general C. S. A.; governor of Kentucky, 1887-1891.

I would be glad to have a free expression of your views upon the subject. Enclosed, you have a copy of a letter this day addressed to Genl. Bragg to which your attention is invited.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c. Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., June 17, 1863

General:

Genl. Johnston in telegrams of 15th and 16th repeats the expression of his opinion that he can not under existing circumstances advantageously command both in Missi. and Tenn.; and in referring to the reported movement of Burnsides' corps to reinforce Grant, says: "Will not this enable us to invade Ky.? For this Genl. Bragg's command should extend over East Tenn."

The arrangements made of several Depts. in a geographical Dist. to the command of which Genl. Johnston was assigned, was intended to secure the fullest co-operation of the troops in those Depts., and at the same time to avoid delay by putting the commander of each Dept. in direct correspondence with the War Office.

Under this view of the case, the Dept. of East Tenn. &c. was created because of the delay which would attend the transmission of reports and orders, if they must need pass from South Western Va. to middle Tenn., and thence to Richmond, Va.

Your telegram of 15th suggesting orders for co-operative movement by Genl. Buckner manifests the defect of the existing arrangement while Genl. Johnston's attention is absorbed by operations in Missi.

I would be glad to have from you such suggestion as you may please to make in relation to the proper remedy for the existing evil. Your command could be extended to embrace that of Genl. Buckner by extending the limits of the Dept. of Tenn. You will know better than myself how far the means of communication and your own leisure would permit you to direct the operations, especially in the Eastern portion of Genl. Buckner's Dept.

You can also judge better than myself how far co-operation can be relied upon without the exercise of other command than that which arises after the junction of forces in camp, marches, &c.

There are no doubt many conditions which do not now occur to me, but which experience has brought to your attention, and I will be glad to have a full expression of your views, being happily fully aware that your wish can in no wise differ from my own,—the success of our cause in the unequal struggle in which we are engaged.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Col. Wm. M. Browne to Genl. W. H. Richardson, Adj. Genl. of Va. Richmond, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., June 17, 1863

General:

I have the honor, by direction of the President, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst. in relation to the Va. Mil. Institute.

The President takes a warm interest in the efficiency and success of the military schools in the several States of the Confederacy; but having had no opportunity to form any opinion by observation of the relative merits of the systems of education pursued at these institutions he does not desire to be understood to express any especial preference for any.

His Excellency is debarred from expressing any opinion as to whether the cadets at the Va. Mil. Institute do better service to their country by pursuing their studies than by joining the army, because his action in regard to the matter must necessarily conform to the law which requires all citizens who are over 18 years of age to enter the service, and which leaves him no discretionary power to which the case of cadets who have become liable to military duty can be properly referred.

The President would be glad to comply with the request of the Board of Visitors as expressed by you that he should make suggestions as to "the character and duration of the course of instruction &c."; but the pressure of public business will only allow him to refer the Board to a report made by him in 1860 on the subject of military education at West Point, in which his views are given at length.

With assurances of the President's respect and esteem, I remain, General,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) WM. M. BROWNE,
Col. & A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. A. H. Stephens, Crawfordsville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 18, 1863

Yours of 12th inst. just received.
Please come here at your earliest convenience.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Quarters A. N. Va. June 18th 1863.

His Excy. Prest. Davis,
Mr. President,

The enemy has been thrown back from the line of the Rappahannock and is concentrating as far as I can learn in the vicinity of Centreville. The last reports from the south indicate that he is moving over towards the upper Potomac, whether with a view of proceeding to Harper's Ferry, crossing the Potomac river into Maryland or advancing through the mountains into the valley, I cannot yet decide.

Longstreet's corps has moved east to the Blue ridge with the view of creating embarrassments to our plans, while Ewell having driven the enemy from Winchester and Martinsburg, has seized upon the Potomac so as to enable Genl. Hill's corps to move up from Fredricksburg. In the meantime Gen. Stuart has held with his cavalry the approaches to the Blue ridge and has in various conflicts with the enemy's cavalry punished them severely having captured more than 400 prisoners with their arms and horses and several standards. I have received no official returns, but learn from Gen. Ewell's reports that he has captured in the Valley more than 400 prisoners, about 30 pieces of artillery, 250 wagons, 20 ambulances, 400 horses, a lot of ammunition &c. Genl. Milroy with a small body of organized troops and some stragglers escaped into Harpers' Ferry. The whole number who escaped will not reach a thousand. Our loss small, it is stated that it will not exceed 175 killed, wounded or missing.

Very respectfully, &c.

(Signed) R. E. LEE
Genl.

Official
C. S. Venable
Maj. A. D. C.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Quarters near Millwood, Va.
19th June 1863.

His Excy. Jeff. Davis,
President &c Richmond, Va.

Mr. President,

Genl. Ewell with two divisions has advanced from the Potomac towards Pennsylvania. His third division is stationed near Sheperdstown for the present to guard his flank and rear. Genl. Longstreet's corps on the Ashby's and Snicker's gaps roads threatens the enemy who is massed between him and Washington. Gen. Stuart's cavalry is operating in this point. I hope the first division of A. P. Hill's corps will reach here today, so that Early may be relieved and follow Ewell. All attempts of the enemy to penetrate the mountains have been repulsed by Stuart's cavalry who yesterday again drove them from Middlesburg and by reports received last evening the enemy's infantry have evacuated Aldie. Indications seem to be that his main body is proceeding towards the Potomac, whether up to Harper's Ferry or to cross the river east of it, is not yet known. The difficulty of securing supplies retards and renders more uncertain our future movement.

I am with great respect,
Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
Genl.

Official
C. S. Venable
Maj. A. D. C.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, June 19, 1863

General:

Genl. Elzey has, I suppose, communicated to you the information received by him in relation to affairs on the Peninsula, and Genl. Cooper has, I suppose, advised you of the reports from Genl. D. H. Hill. They have served to keep up anxiety for the rail roads both north and south of Richmond; but I am not sure that they have justified anything more.

I read to Genl. Elzey the sentence of your letter in relation to the Brigade of Pickett's Division which had been detached to protect the bridges near "Hanover Junction," and asked him whether he could not with the aid of intrenchments protect those bridges by sending up a strong regiment from Cook's Brigade, and thus allow Corse's Brigade to join its Division. I hope he has done so, tho' I have not seen him for the last two days. Being informed that Corse's Brigade was greatly reduced in numbers, I asked the Secty. of War to endeavor to recruit it, and was glad to learn that he had already directed his efforts to that end. Jenkins' Brigade is relied upon by Genl. Hill, not only to protect Petersburg, but to suppose the positions occupied by him further south, and he insists that without it his line can not be defended.

Ransom's Brigade was moved near to Drury's Bluff; but has again, I am informed, been called back towards the Blackwater. We have been endeavoring here to organize a force for local defence, but the delays have been vexatious, and I think in no small degree the result of misunderstandings which better management might have prevented. I hope we shall have better progress hereafter, and think with good outguards,—infantry and cavalry to protect the railroads and give timely notice of an advance of the enemy,—it will be possible to defend the city without drawing from the forces in the field more heavily than may be necessary for the duty of outposts and reconnaissance. You will know better than we can here whether any attempt is made to pass to your rear and strike at your line of communication, and I regret that we have not here a mounted force which might relieve you from the necessity of giving your attention to that matter.

I rejoice in the success which has attended your advance into the valley of Va., and that Ewell has had so good an introduction to the corps of the gallant Jackson, as the successor of that lamented Chief.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, and others, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 20, 1863

Your despatch received. The military authorities from whom you derive your information should know that the withdrawal

of thirty thousand troops as suggested would involve not only the loss of middle Tennessee, but the dismemberment, through the centre, of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi river. The efforts made to send reinforcements to Mississippi show my appreciation of the importance of the issue there.

Your despatch is discouraging as indicating no reliance on efforts to be made with the forces on the spot, and as suggesting that there is no time to be lost when much time would be necessary to carry out your proposition were it practicable.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., June 20, 1863

Hon. W. L. Yancey,
C. S. Senator,
Alabama,

On the 6th of last month you wrote me that you were informed I "entertained personal enmity" towards you, and that you "seized the earliest moment" after receiving the information as to my "personal feeling" to withdraw the application previously made in favor of your son.

Surprised that you should have been so informed, I replied on the 26th that "not having made any declaration to that effect" I thought I had a right to inquire of you how you acquired that information. I went further and said "I was sure you had no right to feel personal hostility to me and hoped you might not."

I have now received your letter of 11th inst. in which you not only omit entirely any answer to my inquiry, but make the very grave charge that in my official action I have been "influenced by feelings of personal hostility" to yourself, and not satisfied with reporting that this charge is based on information received by you, you add that you "believe it."

Repelling this charge as utterly untrue, I again claim the right of inquiring on what information it is based. Notwithstanding your avowal that you have now "allowed a natural resentment to gain an ascendancy in your breast," I can but expect that you will deem it due to yourself if not to me, to answer the inquiries of my former and the present letter.

I would be glad to be able here to pause in my answer, but there are various statements in your letter which, if unanswered, might be supposed to be admitted and to which I feel compelled to give a decided dissent.

I am not aware of the existence of any such usage in relation to the appointment of postmasters as you allege to have prevailed. In my whole official life both as an executive officer and as a Senator no such usage was to my knowledge recognized or acted on. I will add, that if such a usage had actually existed in Washington, I should not for a moment have doubted as to the propriety of discontinuing it here, nor will I consent to be influenced in the exercise of the appointing power which I hold as a trust for the public good, by personal favor or personal resentment. I must add that the Senate is no part of the nominating power and that according, as I do, the highest respect to the opinions of Senators when they recommend applicants, I decline to yield to any dictation from them on the subject of nominations.

Your statement that the Postmaster appointed for Montgomery was "recommended by an insignificant number of persons in Montgomery and hardly identified with the place" is so far from accurate as to satisfy me that you have been misinformed in this as in almost every other particular connected with the nomination. I am gratified to perceive, however, that you do not disparage the appointee as being otherwise than an upright, competent, and meritorious officer; nor do you state him to be at all unfriendly to yourself, and I would readily have stated to you as I did to others my reason for selecting him, if in like manner you had made the inquiry; although I must deny the *right* of any one to demand my motives for the nominations which I think proper to make, and which are subject to no other control than the approval or disapproval of the Senate.

Your statement in relation to the letter about the appointment of Brigadier Generals from Alabama is entirely incorrect. If you will refer to my endorsement on it you will find that it was not considered as a recommendation for the appointment of officers, but as the assumption of a right to question my motives in making nominations, and to dictate the rules which should govern my action. Viewed in this light I declined to retain it.

I am gratified to learn from you that any opposition you may have manifested to the administration of the government was uninfluenced by personal considerations, and accept your assurances on the subject, none the less readily because you express the belief on secret information that my own action as Chief Magistrate is based on opposite grounds. I likewise appreciate to the fullest extent your expressed purpose to preserve

independence even at the expense of personal regard, while I regret that you should suppose the preservation of both to be impossible.

I conclude in the hope that you will recognize the obligation to state the authority on which your allegations have been made, instead of replying to my inquiries on the subject by statements justifying yourself for receiving these allegations as true.

It is surely not at the present time that unfriendly relations should be allowed to spring up between those to whom the people have committed their interests in this great struggle. For myself all of hostile feeling that I possess is reserved for the enemies of my country, not for those who like yourself are devoted to our common cause. You promise a candid judgment and generous support to my administration so far as demanded by the interests of our country, whatever may be our personal relations. I accept your promise with pleasure as worthy of a patriot, and even were these relations of the most cordial character, could desire nothing more than the redemption of this pledge.

Very respectfully &c &c
(signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

R. E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va. 23rd June 1863.

His Excy. President Davis,
Richmond,

Mr. President,

Reports of movements of the enemy east of the Blue Ridge cause me to believe that he is preparing to cross the Potomac. A pontoon bridge is said to be laid at Edwards' Ferry, and his army corps that he had advanced to Leesburg and the foot of the mountains appear to be withdrawing. Their attempts to penetrate the mountains have been successfully repelled by Gen. Stuart with the cavalry. Gen. Stuart last night was within a few miles of Aldie, to which point the enemy had retired. Gen. Ewell's corps is in motion towards the Susquehannah. Gen. A. P. Hill's corps is moving towards the Potomac, his leading division will reach Shepperdstown today. I have withdrawn Longstreet west of the Shenandoah, and if nothing prevents he will follow tomorrow. In addition to the supplies that we have been able to gather in Fauquier and Loudoun counties

in the Shenandoah Valley, and west of the Alleghany, we have collected sufficient north of the Potomac for the support of Ewell's corps to the 30th inst. and 1700 barrels of flour are on hand in Md. for the rest of the army. I hope we shall get enough for the subsistence of our men. Forage is very scarce and we have mainly to rely on grass for the animals. From the reports I received, I believe we shall obtain enough salt for our purposes, while north of the Potomac; for which we are paying 75c a bushel. The flour that we have purchased in Md. costs $6.50 per barrel, beef 5.00 per hundred gross. We use Confederate money for all payments. I shall continue to purchase all the supplies that are furnished me while north of the Potomac, impressing only when necessary.

With great respect,
Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
Gen.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Shelbyville, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1863

From causes into which it is needless to enter, the control of the Missi. will be lost unless Johnston is strongly reinforced.[1] Can you give him further aid without opening to the enemy the way to the Tenn. & Va. R.R., and uncovering Georgia and Alabama?

I need not state to you that the stake is vital to the Confederacy.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1863

From causes into which it is needless to enter, the control of the Missi. and connection between the States east and west of it will be lost unless Johnston is strongly and promptly rein-

[1] When Vicksburg was invested only two months' supply of provisions were in the city; the only hope of relief was from the outside through an attack by Johnston's army.

forced. Can you give him further aid without the probable loss of Charleston and Savannah within the next sixty days?

I need not state to you that the issue is vital to the Confederacy.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1863

Dispatch was sent in new key word of signal corps and is repeated in former key word.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Gov. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1863

The instructions were based on your letter of May 7th; refer to it and you will see how Helena was omitted.

Com. Barrow will be instructed to transfer the funds to Genl. Johnston, who will apply it for the defence of Western Rivers and use his discretion as to the manner and objects.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher)

Telegram

Richmond, June 25, 1863

Telegram from Gov. Pettus informs me of conference with you. Com. Barrow will transfer the funds to you, to be applied by you for the purpose indicated, in the defence of Western Rivers. You will exercise discretionary power as to manner and objects.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. S. Jones,[1] *Dublin Depot, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher)

Telegram

Richmond, June 29, 1863

Have you received Genl. Lee's letter in regard to movement by you?

Had you any other plan, or do other operations suggest themselves to you?

Reply by mail and state strength and position of your forces, and to what extent under existing circumstances they may be removed for duty elsewhere.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, June 30, 1863

After full examination of all the correspondence between you and myself and the War Office, including the despatches referred to in your telegrams of the 20th inst., I am still at a loss to account for your strange error in stating to the Secretary of War that your right to withdraw reinforcements from Bragg's Army had been restricted by the Executive, or that your command over the Army of Tennessee had been withdrawn. In compliance with your request I am engaged in correspondence

[1] Jones, Samuel (1819-1887), soldier, was born at Woodfield, Powhatan County, Virginia, December 17, 1819, and graduated at West Point in 1841, and was assigned to the artillery. He was an instructor at West Point, 1846-1851; was on duty at New Orleans and in Texas, 1851-1853; and assistant to Judge Advocate General of the army from 1858 until his resignation, April 21, 1861 He entered the Confederate service as major of artillery, and during the organization of Beauregard's army was chief of artillery and ordnance. He was promoted brigadier general, July 22, 1861. He was assigned to the command of the department of Alabama and West Florida in January, 1862, and was promoted major general in May of that year. He was engaged at Corinth and at Chattanooga, and in 1864 was placed in command of the department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He surrendered at Tallahassee, May 10, 1865. He resided in Virginia from the close of the war until 1880, when he became assistant in the adjutant general's office, War Department, Washington, D. C. He died at Bedford Springs, Va., July 31, 1887. He wrote The Siege of Charleston and the Operations on the South Atlantic Coast in the War among the States, 295 pp., New York, 1911.

with General Bragg on the subject of making such new arrangements as shall relieve you hereafter of the command of his department. Your suggestion to extend Bragg's command over East Tennessee is likewise the subject of correspondence, and your recommendation to attempt a movement in Kentucky has been approved and every effort will be made to carry into effect that as well as any other practicable movement to aid you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 2, 1863

I have this day sent a despatch to Genl. E. K. Smith and to your care.

Please send copies of the despatch to Genl. Smith by several reliable couriers, going at different times, so as to ensure its speedy delivery.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. E. K. Smith, Care of Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher)

Telegram

Richmond, July 2, 1863

I am convinced that the safety of Vicksburg depends on your prompt and efficient cooperation. As far as practicable I desire you to move your forces to the Mississippi River and command in person operations for the relief of the besieged city.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Gov. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 2, 1863

This day received your dispatch. Will receive as many as will organize under the Act for Local Defence and for the residue will accept the militia or State troops.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin Texas, 1863, July 2.

His Excellency
Jefferson Davis
President of Confederate States
Richmond, Va.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 15th April last, notifying me of the appointment of W. R. D. Ward of Texas commissioner for this State, under the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to regulate impressments" approved March 26, 1863.

This communication has but this day reached me; and I have the honor to inform you that I have thereupon appointed Frank C. Williams of Cherokee County, Texas, Commissioner under said Act to act with Mr. Ward.

I do not deem the public interest to have suffered in consequence of the detention of your communications, up to this time.

I have the honor to be

Yours Very Respectfully
F. R. Lubbock.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va.
near Gettysburg, Pa. 4th July 1863.

His Excy. President Davis,
Richmond,

Mr. President,

After the rear of the army had crossed the Potomac, the leading corps under Gen. Ewell pushed on to Carlisle and York passing through Chambersburg. The other two corps closed up at the latter place, and soon afterwards, intelligence was received that the army of Gen. Hooker was advancing. Our whole force was directed to concentrate at Gettysburg and the corps of Gen. Ewell and A. P. Hill reached that place on the 1st July, the former advancing from Carlisle, and the latter from Chambersburg. The two leading divisions of these corps upon reaching the vicinity of Gettysburg found the enemy and at-

tacked him, driving him from the town, which was occupied by our troops. The enemy's loss was heavy, including more than four thousand prisoners. He took up a strong position in rear of the town which he immediately began to fortify, and where his re-inforcements joined him. On the 2nd July Longstreet's corps, with the exception of one division, having arrived, we attempted to dislodge the enemy, and though we gained some ground, we were unable to get possession of his position. The next day the third division of Gen. Longstreet having come up, a more extensive attack was made. The works on the enemy's extreme right and left were taken, but his numbers were so great and his position so commanding that our troops were compelled to relinquish their advantage and retire. It is believed that the enemy suffered severely in these operations, but our own loss has not been light.

Gen. Barksdale is killed, Gen. Garnett and Armstead are missing and it is feared that the former is killed and the latter wounded and a prisoner. Gen. Pender and Trimble are wounded in the leg, Gen. Hood in the arm and Gen. Heth slightly in the head. Gen. Ramser it is feared is mortally wounded. Our losses embrace many other valuable officers and men. Gen. Wade Hampton was severely wounded in a different action in which the cavalry was engaged yesterday.

Very respectfully,
Your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
Genl.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hagerstown July 7th, 1863.

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Confederate States,
Mr. President,

My letter of the 4th will have informed you of the unsuccessful issue of our final attack on the enemy in the rear of Gettysburg. Finding the position too strong to be carried, and being much hindered in collecting necessary supplies for the Army by the numerous bodies of local and other troops which watched the passes, I determined to withdraw to the west side of the mountains. This has been safely accomplished with great labor, and the army is now in the vicinity of this place. One of my reasons for moving in this direction after crossing the mountains

was to protect our trains with the sick and wounded which had been sent back to Williamsport, and which were threatened by the enemy's cavalry. Our advance reached here yesterday afternoon in time to support our cavalry in repulsing an attempt of the enemy to reach our trains. Before leaving Gettysburg such of the sick and wounded as could be removed were sent back to Williamsport, but the rains that have interfered so much with our general movements have so swollen the Potomac as to render it unfordable, and they are still on the north side. Arrangements are being made to ferry them across today. We captured at Gettysburg about six thousand prisoners besides the wounded that remained in our hands after the engagements of the 1st and 2d. Fifteen hundred of these prisoners and the wounded were paroled but I suppose that under the late arrangements these paroles will not be regarded. The rest have been sent to Williamsport where they will cross. We were obliged to leave a large number of our wounded who were unable to travel, and many arms that had been collected on the field at Gettysburg. In addition to the General officers killed or wounded of whom I sent you a list in my former letter, I have to mention General Semmes, General G. T. Anderson, General Pettigrew and General J. M. Jones wounded; General Archer was made prisoner. General Heth is again in command. In sending back our trains in advance, that of General Ewell was cut by the enemy's cavalry and a number of wagons, said to be about forty were captured. The enemy's cavalry force which attempted to reach our trains yesterday afternoon was a large one. They came as far as Hagerstown where they were attacked by General Stuart and driven back rapidly towards Sharpsburg.

Very respectfully your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
General.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Qrs. Army No. Va.
near Hagerstown Md. 8 July 1863.

His Excy. Jeffr. Davis,
President &c.

Mr. President,

My letter of yesterday will have informed you of the position of this army. Though reduced in numbers by the hardships and battles through which it has passed since leaving the Rappahan-

nock, its condition is good, its confidence unimpaired. When crossing the Potomac in Maryland, I had calculated upon the river remaining fordable during the summer, so as to enable me to recross at my pleasure, but a series of storms commencing the day after our entrance into Maryland has placed the river beyond fording stage and the present storm will keep it so for at least a week. I shall therefore have to accept battle if the enemy offers it, whether I wish to or not, and as the result is in the hands of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe and known to Him only, I deem it prudent to make every arrangement in our power to meet any emergency that may arise. From information gathered from the papers, I believe that the troops from North Carolina and coast of Virginia under Gens. Foster and Dix have been ordered to the Potomac and that recently additional re-inforcements have been sent from the coast of North Carolina to Genl. Banks. If I am correct in my opinion this will liberate most of the troops in those regions and should your Excy. not already have done so, I earnestly recommend that all that can be spared be concentrated on the upper Rappahannock under Genl. Beauregard with directions to cross that river and make a demonstration upon Washington. This command will answer the double purpose of affording protection to the capitol at Richmond and relieving the pressure upon this army. I hope your Excy. will understand that I am not in the least discouraged nor that my faith in the protection of an All Merciful Providence, or in the fortitude of this army is at all shaken; but though conscious that the enemy has been much shattered in the recent battle, I am aware that he can be easily reinforced, while no addition can be made to our numbers. The measure therefore that I have recommended is altogether one of a providential nature. I am most respectfully,

Your obt. servt.

R. E. Lee

Gen.

P.S.

I see it stated in a letter from the special correspondent of the N. York Times that a bearer of dispatches from your Excy. to myself was captured at Hagerstown on the 2d July and the dispatches are said to be of the greatest importance, and to have a great bearing on "coming events." I have thought proper to mention this, that you may know whether it is so.

R. E. L.

Official

W. W. Taylor

A. D. C.

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

Head Qrs. Army No. Va.
July 10th 1863.

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Confederate States,
Mr. President,

Since my letter of the 8th inst., nothing of importance in a military point of view has transpired. The Potomac continues to be past fording, and owing to the rapidity of the stream, and the limited facilities we have for crossing, the prisoners and wounded are not yet over. I hope they will be able to cross today. I have not received any definite intelligence of the movements or designs of the enemy. A scout reports that a column which followed us across the mountains has reached Waynesburg in Pa. and other bodies are reported as moving by way of Frederick from Emmettsburg, as if approaching in this direction. If these reports be correct, it would appear to be the intention of the enemy to deliver battle, and we have no alternative but to accept it if offered. The army is in good condition and we have a good supply of ammunition. The supply of flour is affected by the high waters which interfere with the working of the mills. With the blessing of Heaven, I trust that the courage and fortitude of the army will be found sufficient to relieve us from the embarrassment caused by the unlooked for natural difficulties of our situation, if not to secure more valuable and substantial results.

Very respectfully, your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee Genl.

Jefferson Davis to Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 8, 1863

What is the state of affairs at Vicksburg? The old key is used. Answer by telegraph.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 8, 1863

Your despatch of 5th inst. received. The mistakes it contains will be noticed by letter. Your despatch of 7th to Sec. of War, announcing the disastrous termination of the siege of Vicksburg received same day. Painfully anxious as to the result I have remained without information from you as to any plans proposed or attempted to raise the siege. Equally uninformed as to your plans in relation to Port Hudson, I have to request such information in relation thereto as the Government has a right to expect from one of its commanding Generals in the field.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(In cypher) Telegram

Richmond, July 9, 1863

Intelligence of presence of the enemy near Williamsport has induced me with a view to cover your communication to order General Sam Jones with three thousand infantry and two batteries of artillery to proceed to Winchester where he will receive your orders.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 9, 1863

If it be true that Genl. Taylor has joined Genl. Gardner and routed Banks, you will endeavor to draw heavy reinforcements from that army and delay a general engagement until your junction is effected. Thus, it is to be hoped the enemy may yet be crushed and the late disaster be repaired. Send by telegraph

a list of the General and Staff officers who have come out on parole from Vicksburg, so that they may be exchanged immediately. As soon as practicable let the lists of regiments and other organizations be forwarded for same purpose. Genl. Rains should now fully apply his invention.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 10, 1863

Can you send two or three thousand Local defence troops or militia for immediate service at Charleston?

If so, please notify Genl. Beauregard and forward them as rapidly as possible.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Mr. McBeth, Mayor of Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 10, 1863

It is very desirable that all the citizens of Charleston able to bear arms and not subject to enrollment for military service should be promptly organized for Local defence under the Act of Congress to induce such voluntary service.

I request your efficient aid in this matter.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 11, 1863

Your letter received, and shall have attention. Referring to reports from eastern part of State, have to request that, if practicable, you bring into service as many of the local defence or of the militia troops as have been organized.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 11, 1863

Your despatch received. The cause of the fall of Vicksburg increases, if possible, my painful disappointment. It appears the army inside did its full duty. What aid can you give now to defence of interior? Grant may offer another opportunity. What is present state of feeling and of public opinion? Telegraph and write fully. We are entitled to immediate release of the paroled garrison, and will endeavor to have the promptest action.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 11, 1863

Dispatch of this day received, and remarks on defects of intrenched line noted. Tho' late to attempt improvement, every effort should be made to strengthen the line of defence and compel the enemy to assault. Am deeply distressed at report of desertions. Can not the Governor aid you to check them by employing citizens as guards at the fords?

Beauregard and Bragg are both threatened—the former now engaged with enemy. We are entitled to discharge of the paroled prisoners, and the War Dept. will spare no effort to promptly secure it. The importance of your position is apparent, and you will not fail to employ all available means to ensure success. I have too little knowledge of your circumstances to be more definite, and have exhausted my power to aid you.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Qrs. Army No. Va.
12th July 1863.

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Confederate States,
Mr. President,

I have nothing of moment to add to what I have said in my letter of the 10th. So far everything goes well. The army is in good condition and occupies a strong position covering the Potomac from Williamsport to Falling Waters. The enemy seems to be collecting his forces in the valley of the Antietam, his main body stretching from Boonesboro to Sharpsburgh. But for the power he possesses of accumulating troops, I should be willing to await his attack except that in our restricted limits, the means of obtaining subsistence is becoming precarious. The river has now fallen to four feet, and a bridge which is being constructed, I hope will be passable by tomorrow; should the river continue to subside our communication with the south bank will be open tomorrow. Had the late unexpected rise not occurred there would have been no cause for anxiety, as it would have been in my power to recross the Potomac on my first reaching it, without molestation. Everything would have been accomplished that could have been reasonably expected. The army of the Potomac has been thrown north of that river, the forces invading the coasts of North Carolina and Virginia had been diminished, their plan of the present campaign broken up, and before new arrangements could have been made for its resumption, the summer would have been ended.

I still trust that a kind Providence will cause all things to work together for our good.

Very respectfully
your obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
General.

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Texas State Library.)

Executive Department
Austin, Texas, 1863, July 13.

To His Excellency
President Davis,
Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir,

Impelled by a sense of duty to the Confederacy and the State, I beg most respectfully to direct your attention to the following suggestions, 'though regretting to trouble you at a time when your whole energies must necessarily be absorbed by matters of vital importance.

In view, especially, of the critical condition of affairs on the Mississippi River, the want of arms becomes a subject for serious consideration, and occasions me much anxiety. The State during the war, has been supplying the Confederate authorities with arms, as well as with munitions of war generally, which she had accumulated for her defence under special appropriation for that purpose: she has not now, consequently, the means of arming the 10,000 troops (militia) called out by me on a requisition of Maj. Genl. Magruder, to provide against contingent reverses on the banks of the Mississippi. The State, too, has very recently furnished the Confederate authorities with 1500 stand of small arms;—Most of the private arms have also been taken beyond our limits by our volunteer soldiery. We have men willing and patriotic enough to take the field in defence of their homes had we but arms to place in their hands.

I am satisfied your Excellency does not underrate the importance of Texas to the Confederacy, especially to that portion of it West of the Mississippi River: were it overrun, its loss would draw after it that of Louisiana and Arkansas, for Texas is the Granary which nourishes the Armies of the Trans-Miss. Dept. How important then that our every energy should be directed to its preservation. We need but arms; with an adequate supply, we will battle manfully, and, I trust with success The Confederate Government it is reported, have on hand a large quantity of arms; I trust, therefore, your Excellency will if practicable, and they can be spared, forward to the Department of Texas a sufficiency for its defence.

I beg also to call the attention of your Excellency to the

system in operation in this Department by the working of which Conscripts are withheld from the ranks, and employed as Teamsters, and Drivers of Beef cattle; they are also furloughed and employed by Government Contractors and Agents: Those thus employed are supposed to number about 5,000 men, and this at a time when about one half the troops previously retained in Texas for its defence have been marched to Louisiana, where they are now operating.

The force in the State being thus greatly reduced it is of moment that its strength be increased by placing these men in the ranks. The service would not thereby suffer, since they could be replaced by Negroes, controlled by a sufficiency of white wagon-masters, and overseers: I know, of my own experience that they make most excellent teamsters and stock-drivers. The Confederate Government can control their services by virtue of the Impressment Act. I trust your Excellency will direct that these Conscript-Teamsters, Beef-drivers, &c. be placed in and restored to the ranks and their places supplied by Negroes.

Very Respectfully,
Your Excellency's
Most Obdt. Servt.
F. R. LUBBOCK.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi. and Genl. G. E. Beauregard, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, Va., July 13, 1863

Nothing from you since Saturday.
What is the state of affairs?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 14, 1863

Governor:

I regret that an accident has so long prevented an answer to your letter of March 31st, in reference to the enrolment of certain State and corporation officers in North Carolina.

But I trust that no serious embarrassment has resulted to you from my delay in replying, as the attention of the Chief of the Bureau of Conscription was promptly called to the matter discussed in your letter, and the commandant of conscripts for the State was ordered to defer to you in every case when it could be done without positive infraction of law.

In enforcing the enrolment of conscripts, it has been my desire to comply as far as possible with the views and wishes of the Governors of the several States, in all cases where there seemed to be any fair doubt as to the intention of Congress as expressed in the several Acts relating to this subject. But where the law-making power has plainly declared its will, the Executive has no discretion and must simply enforce the law.

In cases of individual hardship the President is authorized to interfere with an order of special exemption. But with regard to classes of citizens the case is different. The Congress has explicitly designated those classes whose continued occupation with their ordinary pursuits seemed necessary to the well-being of society; and has at the same time, declared that the danger to the country from its armed enemies is so great as to demand the presence of all other citizens, within certain ages, in the field.

If, after trial, their legislation appears to have been without proper regard to the true interests of the community, in forcing into the army classes of people whom a wiser policy would have retained at home, they will probably remedy the evil at future sessions. Meanwhile, I am not justified in interfering with a full execution of their enactments. Such a course would not only be an evasion of a fair trial of the wisdom of the laws, but it would imperil the successful issue of the war by withholding from the army men who have been, by the competent authority, declared subject to military duty.

The Government has asserted no claim to conscribe the militia officers of the States in actual commission; and the commandants of conscripts have been so instructed. I have also fully recognized the exemption of all State Executive and Judicial officers not made liable to ordinary militia duty by the laws of the States themselves.

In the particular case of Constables and Justices of the Peace in North Carolina, about whose liability to service there were conflicting opinions, the enrolling officers were directed to suspend action until conference could be held with you, and the laws of the State could be examined.

I have not considered it within my power, under existing laws,

to extend a general exemption to the police of the corporate towns. But, in some instances, organizations in the character of home guards have been allowed to remain free from conscription temporarily, on condition of rendering local military service when called on by the Commanding General. It was supposed that many of the policemen would become attached to these companies, and thus be enabled to attend to their ordinary duties during most of the time.

As some months have now elapsed since your letter was written, and as the officers of this Government have always been instructed to confer freely with you and to insist upon a rigid construction of the laws only where it appeared necessary, it is hoped that all difficulties have been satisfactorily adjusted.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Joseph E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 14, 1863

Your dispatch of yesterday received. If lists of the paroled prisoners, as heretofore directed, be promptly furnished, there will be no need to detain the men in a paroled camp, as we shall insist on immediate discharge and give to them an opportunity again to serve their country.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Care Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 14, 1863

A dispatch from Genl. Johnston of yesterday informs me that you recommend that a furlough of 30 days be given to the troops of your command, to avoid the necessity of placing

them in a paroled camp. We are waiting to receive by telegraph a list of the troops, the number of each grade, and expect to effect their immediate discharge, so as to give all who are fit for duty an opportunity to serve their country in this hour of its sorest need, and, asking from them only such devotion and gallantry as they have heretofore displayed, I hopefully pray for their better fortune on another field.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator, &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

(Confidential) Richmond, July 14, 1863

My dear Sir:

Capt. Buck delivered to me yours of June 18th with the enclosed letter of Judge Watkins, and I thank you for the fulness and freedom with which you have spoken.

Your letter found me in the depths of the gloom in which the disasters of the Missi. River have shrouded our cause. Though it was well for me to know the worst, it pained me to observe how far your confidence was shaken, and your criticism severe on men who I think deserve to be trusted.

In proportion as our difficulties increase, so must we all cling together, judge charitably of each other, and strive to bear and forbear, however great may be the sacrifice and bitter the trial. It is not for man to command success, he should strive to deserve it, and leave the rest to Him who governs all things, though to our short vision the Justice may not be visible.

Since the date of your letter the orders for a movement upon Helena must have satisfied you that Genl. Smith had no idea of abandoning Arkansas, that his attempt to concentrate troops in La. was to prevent the catastrophe which threatened to separate the States of the east from those of the west, by the loss of the only fortified positions we had on the Mississippi River.

Every consideration rejects the policy of voluntarily surrendering any portion of our territory, and the views you express in relation to the valley of the Arkansas are in accordance with those I have long entertained, and heretofore expressed to our officers in command.

Our people have not generally realised the magnitude of the struggle in which we are engaged. Had Missouri and Ten-

nessee furnished the number of troops which you say they could not supply, if in our possession, our banners would be flying on the upper Missi. and the Ohio, and there would have been no question of supplies for the support of the largest army which our necessities could have required, as, if free from invasion, our agricultural products would have greatly exceeded any demand which home consumption could create.

I have long seen the importance of establishing manufactures of all munitions of war in the trans-Missi. Dept. Have directed skilled workmen to be sent over, and that every inducement should be offered to develop the mines of the country. A foundry and rolling mill should be located where iron is cheapest and best, and where the works would be least likely to interruption from hostile invasion. The manufacture and repair of small arms should probably be at a different place, a powder mill at another. Tanneries and shoemaking establishments could well be dispersed, and the manufacture of cloth left to domestic industry, to encourage which orders have been given for the importation of cards and facilities offered for the importation of machinery to make them at home.

My information is quite too limited to justify the expression of an opinion as to the best place for a foundry, or for an arsenal, or for a powder mill. Indeed the only very clear information ever communicated to me was in the report of that much abused officer, Brig. Genl. Shoup. Whatever location is best for the country dependent upon the works for supply, will I am sure meet the approval of your judgment, and if the balance be so even that the best informed might differ, you will not I am sure misconstrue the conclusion though it may be different from that at which you would have arrived.

I have called upon Col. Gorgas and am waiting for the information which will enable me to reply to Gov. Flannigan's letter in relation to manufactures, and the supply of munitions in the West; and can have no difficulty in giving him the assurance as to the defence of Arkansas which you desire, or feel any doubt that both Genl. Smith and Genl. Holmes will fulfil my purpose to the utmost of their ability. It would be mad, suicidal for any State of the Confederacy to seek safety by separation from the rest.

I waive the question of faith, and ask what could be hoped for from our brutal enemy, what expected but such degradation as to a freeman would be worse than torture at the stake. Proud, honorable men may have opposed the Act of Secession, but can

any one not fit to be a slave, and ready to become one, think of passing under the yoke of such as the Yankees have shown themselves to be by their conduct in this war. The sacrifices of our people have been very heavy both of blood and of treasure, many like myself have been robbed of all which the toil of many years had gathered, but the prize for which we strive, freedom, and independence, is worth whatever it may cost. With union and energy, the rallying of every man able to bear arms to the defence of his country, we shall succeed, and if we leave our children poor we shall leave them a better heritage than wealth.

Trusting that God will bless our good cause and that we shall soon have brighter days, I am, as ever,

Very truly, your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. G. M. Davis,[1] *Richmond, Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 14, 1863.

General:

Your unofficial letter informing me of the fact that you have resigned your commission in the army, and explaining the reasons which induced you to do so, though written in April, did not reach me until recently.

I have ordered your resignation to be accepted, in compliance with your wishes. But, entertaining as I do a high sense of the services you have rendered the country in the field, I can not but express my regret that your duty to yourself and to your family now makes it necessary for you to withdraw from the army.

I sincerely hope your health may soon be re-established, and that success may crown your efforts to repair the fortune which has been so injured by devotion to public affairs.

For the friendly words you use to me personally I beg you to accept my thanks.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Brigadier-General C. S. A. from Florida; resigned May 6, 1863.

Jefferson Davis to Thos. C. Reynolds, Govr. of Missouri, Jackson, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 14, 1863

Governor:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter recommending the promotion of Genl. Jno. S. Bowen and other officers of the Missouri troops in Mississippi, and to inform you that Genl. Bowen has been appointed to be Major General.

Your suggestions as to the other promotions will receive proper consideration.

The division to which these officers belong has done excellent service and has won the admiration and gratitude of the country.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. R. Lubbock, Houston, Texas

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 14, 1863

Governor:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of a Joint Resolution by the Legislature of the State of Texas, approved February 27, 1863, pledging the faith of the State to the payment, under any circumstances, of her *pro rata* portion of the public debt of the Confederate States.

Such a step is well calculated to increase the confidence of the world in the redemption of our Bonds.

Several of the States have now guaranteed the payment of their individual shares of the common indebtedness; and I beg you to accept assurances of my satisfaction upon learning that Texas is one of them.

It is to be hoped that the remaining States will follow the example.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 14, 1863

Sir:

I sometime since sent you a dispatch invoking your aid to relieve the siege of Vicksburg. Probably before you received it, the disaster which was apprehended had occurred. By the fall of our two fortified places on the Mississippi River, Vicksburg and Port Hudson, your Department is placed in a new relation and your difficulties must be materially enhanced. You now have not merely a military, but also a political problem involved in your command. I have been warned against a feeling which is said to exist in favor of a separate organization on the part of the States west of the Mississippi. Unreasonable men think they have been neglected and timid men may hope that they can make better terms for themselves, if their cause is not combined with that of the Confederacy. Already, I am told, that dissatisfaction exists in Arkansas and that it has been assumed that you intend to abandon that country, the basis of such supposition being your concentration of troops in Louisiana.

To give to each section all that local interests may suggest will of course be impossible; but much discontent may be avoided by giving such explanations to the Governors of the States as will prevent them from misconstruing your actions, and men are sometimes made valuable coadjutors by conferring with them without surrendering any portion of that control which it is essential for a commander to retain.

Separated from the Eastern States as you now are, your Department must needs be to a great extent self-sustaining. It contains large resources of mineral wealth, but they have been little developed, and I fear there is a great want of skilled labor. To get iron, test its qualities, combine it into the best gun metal and cast ordnance will be one of your first efforts. Some persons skilled in the casting of guns have been sent over. I am not informed what progress they have made.

To manufacture gun carriages and army wagons will also be necessary. These operations may be partly conducted by contract; but you will probably have also to maintain an establishment for that purpose. You will also require a powder mill, and I hope you will be able to procure salt petre and

sulphur in the country. Some attempts have been made to establish arsenals for the repair and manufacture of small arms, but the removal and dispersion of the machinery has I fear greatly retarded the successful prosecution of the work.

In selecting the places at which these various operations may be carried on, you will have, to some extent, to defer to the wishes of the people of the different States to have such establishments within their limits. And for other and more weighty consideration it would be advisable so to separate these establishments that not more than one could be destroyed in a single expedition of the enemy.

You will also have to encourage the tanning of leather for the manufacture of shoes and harness, and to stimulate domestic industry in the manufacture of cloths and, if possible, of blankets. And to all this must be added the encouragement in the production of food to support your army and maintain the people. In any view of the case, and especially in connection with an advance into Missouri, it is necessary that the valley of the Arkansas should be kept in such sense of security as to ensure the full cultivation of the land. Of its capacity as a grain growing region, you are sufficiently advised. Of its importance in connection with maintaining the friendly feeling of the Indians, it would be needless to say anything to you, whose years of observation have rendered the subject familiar.

By the use of cavalry accompanied by light batteries, I hope you will be able to prevent the enemy from using the Mississippi for commercial purposes. Beyond that I suppose your operations must be confined to the interior of the country and that, as your means increase, you will be able to prevent the enemy from using the smaller rivers to penetrate the interior.

When you can get a rolling mill established, it may be that iron clad gunboats may be constructed on the Arkansas and Red Rivers, which will enable you in some contingencies to assume the offensive.

I have directed arms and munitions to be sent to you by sea. This will necessarily involve a long line of land transportation; but, under existing circumstances, it is the best which can be done.

Orders have been sent out for the purchase of cotton and woolen cards, and I hope it will be practicable to send some of these to your Department. I would readily give any facilities which we can afford to any one who would introduce machinery into your Department for the manufacture of such cards.

The endurance of our people is to be severely tested, and nothing will serve more to encourage and sustain them than a zealous application of their industry to the task of producing within themselves whatever is necessary for their comfortable existence. And in proportion as the country exhibits a power to sustain itself, so will the men able to bear arms be inspired with a determination to repel invasion.

During the summer months the enemy cannot, I suppose, attempt any extensive operations in the Southern portion of your Department. During the fall the rivers will scarcely be navigable; and the interval will, I hope, enable you to do much in the way of preparation. I have understood that substantial steamboats and good engines have been made at Little Rock and that contracts would be taken for the construction of such, if proposals were invited. Concerning this and all the like subjects of which I have spoken, you are in a situation to obtain correct information and will know how to secure the co-operation of such persons as will be most likely to render your efforts successful. I suppose you will encounter, as we have elsewhere, embarrassment and annoyance from the class of persons who, eager for gain and careless of their country's welfare, engage in illicit trade with the enemy. The little benefit which is derived from such traffic is so greatly overbalanced by the injuries which it inflicts, that, as far as may be, it should be prevented.

I have rejoiced in the success which has attended the operations of your troops in Southwestern Louisiana, and trust it is but the beginning of a career which will extend itself to every portion of your Department and cause your Administration of it to redound equally to the good of our country and your own fame.

We are now in the darkest hour of our political existence. I am happy in the confidence I feel in your ability, zeal and discretion. The responsibility with which you are charged is heavy indeed, and your means I know are very inadequate. If my power were equal to my will, you should have all which you require. It grieves me to have enumerated so many and such difficult objects for your attention when I can give you so little aid in their achievement.

May God guide and preserve you and grant to us a future in which we may congratulate each other on the achievement of the independence and peace of our country.

Truly your friend

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 15, 1863

Dear Sir:

I avail myself of the opportunity of Capt. Buck's return, which may be the only opportunity I shall have for some time to renew to you the assurances of my full confidence and most friendly regard. Before this reaches you, you will have heard of our disaster at Vicksburg and Port Hudson and perhaps of sad consequences resulting therefrom. Grant has advanced against Jackson and I expect soon to hear that it has been evacuated by Johnston. The clouds are truly dark over us. The storm may yet be averted if the increase of danger shall arouse the people to such a vigorous action as our situation clearly indicates. The control of the Mississippi River by the enemy destroys the co-operation between the States on the East side and West side of the Mississippi, by which each might have contributed to the support of the other. If you can hold and give such security to the valley of the Arkansas as will ensure the production of sufficient food to maintain the army as well as the residents of the country, it would seem to be practicable to preserve our alliance with the Indian Tribes and to prepare for an advance into Missouri, but preparation now involves the development of all the resources of the country which may serve to make it self-sustaining. Your long service on that frontier together with your recent command in the Department will enable you to know what it is practicable to do and the means by which mining and manufactures may be best promoted. I have been disappointed in my efforts to have the machinery taken from the Little Rock Arsenal returned to the Department. It was stopped at Jackson by the state of affairs on the Mississippi River and I suppose is now being sent back to Alabama. I do not know how far other machinery has been supplied, nor what success has attended the efforts to cast heavy guns. Whatever we send to you hereafter must go by a very circuitous route, involving both delay and uncertainty. Every effort must therefore be made to provide ordnance and ordnance stores with the means of transportation both by land and water together with clothing and subsistence, by judiciously located establishments for Government works and by stimulating private enterprise and domestic industry. In proportion as evi-

dence is given of capacity to maintain the defence of the country and a resolution to endure a continuance of the war, the spirit of the people will be sustained and I trust our power increased.

I have heard of the manifestation of a temper to seek in a separate organization the defence of the Trans-Mississippi States. The idea is so suicidal that I suppose its advocates must be few and of little importance. Surely no one can doubt the continued and anxious desire of the General Government to use all its power for the defence of every portion of the Confederacy, and requires but little wisdom to see that our success is most certain when the States are most united in their efforts to achieve their common independence. We have rumors that your attack on Helena has failed. I hope the reverse may be true, but I am constrained to admit that at present I see little which you can do on the Mississippi River, except to prevent its use by the enemy as a highway of commerce. We will continue as we may to send arms and munitions, and I trust under the blessing of Providence that our dark days will be of short continuance, and that God will reward a just cause and faithful efforts with final success.

Ever truly your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Commanding &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 15, 1863

General:

Your despatch of the 5th inst. stating that you "considered" your "assignment to the immediate command in Mississippi" as giving you a "new position" and as "limiting your authority," being a repetition of a statement which you were informed was a grave error, and being persisted in after your failure to point out when requested the letter or despatch justifying you in such a conclusion, rendered it necessary as you were informed in my despatch of 8th inst., that I should make a more extended reply than could be given in a telegram. That there may be no possible room for further mistake in this matter, I am compelled to recapitulate the substance of all orders and instructions given to you, so far as they bear on this question.

On the 24th November last you were assigned by Special Order No. 275 to a defined geographical command. The descrip-

tion included a portion of Western North Carolina, and Northern Georgia, the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, and that portion of the State of Louisiana East of the Mississippi River. The order concluded in the following language:

"Genl. Johnston will for the purpose of correspondence and reports establish his Headquarters at Chattanooga, or such other place as in his judgment will best secure communication with the troops within the limits of his command, and will repair in person to any part of said command, whenever his presence may for the time be necessary or desirable."

This command by its terms embraced the armies under command of General Bragg in Tennessee, of Genl. Pemberton at Vicksburg, as well as those at Port Hudson, Mobile, and the forces in East Tennessee.

This general order has never been changed nor modified so as to affect your command in a single particular, nor has your control over it been interfered with. I have as Commander-in-Chief given you some orders which will be hereafter noticed, not one of them however indicating in any manner that the general control confided to you was restricted or impaired.

You exercised this command by visiting in person the armies at Murfreesboro', Vicksburg, Mobile and elsewhere, and on the 22d January, I wrote to you directing that you should repair in person to the Army at Tullahoma on account of a reported want of harmony and confidence between General Bragg and his officers and troops. This letter closed with the following passage:

"As that army is part of your command no order will be necessary to give you authority there, as whether present or absent, you have a right to direct its operations, and to do whatever belongs to the General Commanding."

Language cannot be plainer than this, and although the different armies in your geographical district were ordered to report directly to Richmond as well as to yourself, this was done solely to avoid the evil that would result from reporting through you when your Head Quarters might be, and it was expected frequently would be, so located as to create delays injurious to the public interest.

While at Tullahoma you did not hesitate to order troops from Genl. Pemberton's army, and learning that you had ordered the

division of cavalry from North Mississippi to Tennessee, I telegraphed to you that this order left Mississippi exposed to cavalry aids without means of checking them. You did not change your orders, and although I thought them injudicious I refrained from exercising my authority in deference to your views.

When I learned that prejudice and malignity had so undermined the confidence of the troops at Vicksburg in their commander as to threaten disaster, I deemed the circumstances such as to present the case foreseen in Special Order No. 275, that you should "repair in person to any part of said command whenever your presence might be for the time necessary or desirable."

You were therefore ordered on 9th May to "proceed at once to Mississippi and take chief command of the forces, giving to those in the field as far as practicable the encouragement and benefit of your personal direction."

Some details were added about reinforcements, but not a word affecting in the remotest degree your authority to command your geographical district.

On the 4th June you telegraphed to the Secty. of War in response to his inquiry saying "my only plan is to relieve Vicksburg, my force is far too small for the purpose. Tell me if you can increase it and how much." To which he answered on the 5th,

"I regret inability to promise more troops as we have drained resources even to the danger of several points. You know best concerning Genl. Bragg's army, but I fear to withdraw more. We are too far outnumbered in Virginia to spare any &c. &c."

On the 8th June the Secretary was more explicit if possible. He said,

"Do you advise more reinforcements from Genl. Bragg? You as Commandant of the Dept. have power so to order if you in view of the whole case so determine."

On the 10th June you answered that it was for the Government to determine what Dept. could furnish the reinforcements; that you could not know how Genl. Bragg's wants compared with yours, and that the Government could make the comparison. Your statements that the Government in Richmond was better able to judge of the relative necessities of the

armies under your command than you were and the further statement that you could not know how General Bragg's wants compared with yours,—were considered extraordinary; but as they were accompanied by the remark that the Secretary's despatch had been imperfectly decyphered, no observation was made on them till the receipt of your telegram to the Secretary of the 12th inst., stating,

"I have not considered myself commanding in Tennessee since assignment here, and should not have felt authorized to take troops from that Dept. after having been informed by the Executive that no more could be spared."

My surprise at these two statements was extreme. You had never been "assigned" to the Mississippi command. You went there under the circumstances and orders already quoted, and no justification whatever is perceived for your abandonment of your duties as Commanding General of the geographical district to which you were assigned.

Orders as explicit as those under which you were sent to the West and under which you continued to act up to the 9th May, when you were directed to repair in person to Mississippi can only be impaired or set aside by subsequent orders equally explicit, and your announcement that you had ceased to consider yourself charged with the control of affairs in Tennessee because ordered to repair in person to Mississippi, both places being within the command to which you were assigned, was too grave to be overlooked; and when to this was added the assertion that you should not have felt authorized to draw troops from that Dept. (Tennessee) "after being informed by the Executive that no more could be spared," I was unable to account for your language, being entirely confident that I had never given you any such information.

I shall now proceed to separate your two statements, and begin with that which relates to your "not considering" yourself commanding in Tennessee since assignment "here" i.e., in Missi.

When you received my telegram of 15th June informing you that "the order to go to Mississippi did not diminish your authority in Tennessee, both being in the country placed under your command in original assignment," accompanied by an inquiry about the information said to have been derived from me restricting your authority to transfer troops, your answer on the 16th June was,

"I meant to tell the Sec. of War that I considered the order directing me to command here as limiting my authority to this Dept. especially when that order was accompanied by War Dept. orders transferring troops from Tennessee to Mississippi."

This is in substance a repetition of the previous statement without any reason being given for it. The fact of orders being sent to you to transfer some of the troops in your Dept. from one point to another to which you were proceeding in person, could give no possible ground for your "considering" that Special Order No. 275 was rescinded or modified. Your command of your geographical district did not make you independent of my orders as your superior officer, and when you were directed by me to take troops with you to Mississippi, your control over the district to which you were assigned was in no way involved. But the statement that troops were transferred from Tennessee to Mississippi by order of the War Dept. when you were directed to repair to the latter State gives but half the fact, for although you were ordered to take with you three thousand good troops, you were told to replace them by a greater number then on their way to Mississippi, and whom you were requested to divert to Tennessee, the purpose being to hasten reinforcements to Pemberton without weakening Bragg. This was in deference to your own opinion that Bragg could not be safely weakened, nay, that he ought even to be reinforced at Pemberton's expense, for you had just ordered troops from Pemberton's command to reinforce Bragg. I differed in opinion from you and thought Vicksburg far more exposed to danger than Bragg, and was urging forward reinforcements to that point both from Carolina and Virginia before you were directed to assume command in person in Mississippi.

I find nothing then either in your despatch of 16th June, nor in any subsequent communication from you giving a justification for your saying that you

"had not considered yourself commanding in Tennessee since assignment here."

(i.e., in Mississippi.) Your despatch of the 5th inst. is again a substantial repetition of the same statement without a word of reason to justify it. You say,

"I considered my assignment to the immediate command in Mississippi as giving me a new position and limiting my authority to this Dept."

I have characterised this as a grave error, and in view of all the facts cannot otherwise regard it. I must add that a review of your correspondence shows a constant desire on your part, beginning early in January, that I should change the order placing Tennessee and Mississippi in one command under your direction, and a constant indication on my part whenever I wrote on the subject that in my judgment the public service required that the two armies should be subject to your control.

I now proceed to your second statement in your telegram of 12th June, that you

"should not have felt authorized to take troops from that Dept. (Tennessee) after having been informed by the Executive that no more could be spared."

To my inquiry for the basis of this statement you answered on the 16th by what was in substance a reiteration of it.

I again requested on the 17th, that you should refer by date to any such communication as that alleged by you. You answered on 20th June, apologised for carelessness in your first reply, and referred me to a passage from my telegram to you of 28th May and to one from the Sec. of War of 5th June, and then informed me that you considered "Executive" as including Sec. of War.

Your telegram of 12th June was addressed to the Sec. of War in the second person; it begins "your despatch," and then speaks of the Executive in the third person, and on reading it, it was not supposed that the word "Executive" referred to any one but myself; but of course in a matter like this your own explanation of your meaning is conclusive.

The telegram of the Sec. of War of 5th June followed by that of the 8th June conveyed unmistakeably the very reverse of the meaning you attribute to them, and your reference to them as supporting your position is unintelligible. I revert therefore to my telegram of 28th May. That telegram was in answer to one from you in which you stated that on the arrival of certain reinforcements then on the way, you would have about 23,000, that Pemberton could be saved only by beating Grant, and you added,

"unless you can promise more troops we must try with that number. The odds against us will be very great. Can you add seven thousand?"

My reply was

"the reinforcements sent to you exceed by, say seven thousand, the estimate of your despatch of 27th inst. We have withheld nothing which it was practicable to give you. We cannot hope for numerical equality, and time will probably increase the disparity."

It is on this language that you rely to support a statement that I informed you no more troops could be spared from Tennessee and as restricting your right to draw troops from that Dept. It bears no such construction. The reinforcements sent to you with an exception presently to be noticed, were from points outside of your Dept. You had in telegrams of 1st 2d 7th May and others made repeated applications to have troops withdrawn from other Depts. to your aid. You were informed that we would give all the aid we possibly could. Of your right to order any change made in the distribution of troops in your own Dist. no doubt could occur to your superiors here, for they had given you the authority.

The reinforcements which went with you from Tennessee were (as already explained and as was communicated to you at the time) a mere exchange for other troops sent from Virginia.

The troops subsequently sent to you from Bragg were forwarded by him under the following despatch from me of 22d May:

"The vital issue of holding the Mississippi at Vicksburg is dependent on the success of Genl. Johnston in an attack on the investing force. The intelligence from there is discouraging. Can you aid him? If so *and you are without orders from Genl. Johnston* act on your judgment."

The words that I now underscore suffice to show how thoroughly your right of command of the troops in Tennessee was recognised. I knew from your own orders that you thought it more advisable to draw troops from Mississippi to reinforce Bragg, than to send troops from the latter to Pemberton, and one of the reasons which induced the instruction to you to proceed to Mississippi was the conviction that your views on this point would be changed on arrival in Mississippi. Still, although convinced myself that troops might be spared from Bragg's army without very great danger, and that Vicksburg was on the contrary in imminent peril, I was unwilling to over-rule

your judgment of the distribution of your troops while you were on the spot, and therefore simply left to Genl. Bragg the power to aid you, if he could, and *if you had not given contrary orders.*

The cavalry sent to you from Tennessee was sent on a similar despatch from the Sec. of War to Genl. Bragg informing him of your earnest appeal for cavalry, and *asking him if he could spare any.* Your request was for a regiment of cavalry to be sent to you from Georgia. My despatch of 18th May pointed out to you the delay which a compliance would involve, and suggested that cavalry could be drawn from "another part of your department" as have been previously indicated.

In no manner, by no act, by no language, either of myself or of the Sec. of War, has your authority to draw troops from one portion of your Dept. to another been withdrawn, restricted or modified.

Now that Vicksburg has disastrously fallen, this subject would present no pressing demand for attention, and its examination would have been postponed to a future period, had not your despatch of the 5th inst. with its persistent repetition of statements which I had informed you were erroneous and without adducing a single fact to sustain them, induced me to terminate the matter at once by a review of all the facts. The original mistakes in your telegram of 12th June would gladly have been overlooked as accidental, if acknowledged when pointed out. The perseverance with which they have been insisted on, has not permitted me to pass them by as a mere oversight, or by refraining from an answer to seem to admit the justice of the statements.

Respectfully &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. Flannigan, Governor of Arkansas.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 15, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of June 26th with the enclosed copy of your letter to General Smith of June 15th.

Before entering on the various questions presented, allow me to correct a misconception of the intent of a sentence in mine

of April 3d, to which you reply. I stated a fact in relation to men of the old regiments serving on the East side of the Missi. having entered new organizations on the West side. I did not say, or deem it necessary to say, that I had been informed that they were authorized to do so by their superior officers in Arkansas, but knowing the fact could not mean to charge them as guilty of the abandonment of their own regiments which is the construction you give to the statement of the fact as one of the reasons which have reduced the number of troops on the East side of the river, and probably inferring that the same man had been counted twice by you but certainly not intending, as you suppose, to do injustice to the soldiers referred to.

It is no doubt true that men in the army are seriously affected by the knowledge that their homes are in the hands of the enemy, and that men remaining at home under such circumstances are thereby deterred from entering the service. And for these and for many other and more cogent reasons, it has always been our policy not to yield an acre of Confederate soil. But the power has not always been equal to the will, and we have been reduced by hard necessity to yield those portions of territory to which you refer; but it is hoped only for a season.

I cannot suppose that your apprehension that Genl. Smith proposes to surrender the valley of the Arkansas can be well founded. His long service on the Western frontier must render him fully aware of the importance of holding that rich agricultural country viewed in its relation to the defence of the State, to the retention of our influence in the Indian country, to a future advance into Missouri, and to the honor and general welfare of the Confederacy.

Since the date of your letter I have learned of Genl. Smith's orders for attack upon Helena and hope that will have satisfied you that his purpose was rather to enlarge our occupation in Arkansas than to diminish it.

Our recent disasters will, I hope, only serve to nerve the true men of the Confederacy to greater exertion. The movement of troops from Arkansas to Louisiana, it might well have been hoped, would prevent the fall of Vicksburg. It is needless to say to you how greatly that would have promoted our future prospects in the Trans-Mississippi Department. The loss of the two fortified places we held on the Mississippi River gives the enemy such power as will greatly interfere with future communication and co-operation between the States East and West. In proportion as you are separated from the States of the East,

those of the West are thrown more and more on their own resources; and in proportion as my ability to aid you diminishes, so does my anxiety for your safety increase, and my determination to make every effort for your defense keeps pace with that anxiety. Though the route will be circuitous, I hope we shall be able to send you an adequate supply of arms and munitions, and if every man able to bear arms, whether subject to conscription or not, will rally to the standard of his country, I have an abiding faith that our success will be commensurable, under the blessing of Providence, with the justice of our cause.

We have in the Western States vast mineral resources and we must give increased attention to their development. Some time since, I directed men skilled in the casting of guns to be sent over, with the hope that by the establishment of a foundry we could from the iron of the country make all the heavy guns which would be required in the Department. You cannot regret more than I do the injury which has resulted from the removal of the machinery for the manufacture of small arms. It had been sent from Little Rock to Napoleon before I heard of its removal. Directions were given to send it back to Little Rock; and afterwards learning that it had been removed from Napoleon, before the order was received, though it was promptly given, further directions were given to have it returned, and efforts were being made to do so, when by interruption of communication across the Mississippi, and the last information I have of it was that it was on the 9th of this month at Jackson, Mississippi, and the ordnance officer said he should be probably compelled to send it back to Alabama.

I am sure your good will and good judgment will not allow you to impute errors, even when as in this case, they are great, to any want of desire to withhold from any portion of our country all which it is needful to have and possible to give. The war in which we are engaged is one of immense magnitude and it oftentimes happens that officers who had never previously exercised high command are called upon to bear great responsibilities and to hold complicated and important trusts. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that frequent errors should be committed, which viewed in retrospect would seem very palpable and which must at last often be judged without a knowledge of many attending circumstances which may well have affected the conclusions of the actors. But it is to the future, not to the past, that we must address ourselves, and I wish to assure you tho' I hope it is unnecessary, that no effort shall be spared to

promote the defence of the Trans-Missi. Dept. and to develop its resources so as to meet the exigencies of the present struggle.

The states of the Confederacy can have but one fortune. Localities and individuals must suffer differently, but the prize for which we strive—independence—must be gained by us all, or we must all share a fate which to every man fit to be a freeman would be worse than torture and death.

The officer sent to command the Dept. is one whom I am sure, will win your confidence and esteem. It is his duty to the extent of his power to defend every portion of the territory embraced in his command, but he must take an expanded view surrendering unimportant, to maintain important points, where the whole cannot be covered; and if, at any time, you should not be able to understand the purpose for which a particular distribution of troops was made, and it should be proper for the time to conceal the plan of operations, I hope you will abide the development of events, and that as confidence in his zeal and ability grows in your breast, you will be able to infuse that confidence into others who may doubt and thus promote that union and energy without which we should become segregated and helpless. I am sure you will find him free from all jealous or captious temper, and ready to profit by any information you may give him as to the best mode of developing the resources of the country and providing for its wants.

You say nothing of Genl. Holmes; but you have had opportunity to know him and I hope you concur with me that his zeal, integrity and devotion to his duty are equal to those of any one. He has served long on the frontier of Arkansas, and will know how to enforce the importance of the valley of the Arkansas to which I have in this letter alluded. The future of the Trans-Missi. States is not solely dependent on military sagacity. Political mingle with military elements in the problem before us, and the success of the General must depend in no small degree upon the co-operation of the Governors of the States.

I am happy in the assurance that I can expect from you everything which your judgment approves, and I do not doubt that it is only necessary there should be co-intelligence between us to give uniformity to our conclusions. It will always give me pleasure to hear from you as freely and as fully as your convenience will permit, and I beg you to accept assurances of the regard and esteem with which I am

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Quarters Army No. Va.
Bunker Hill, Va. July 16th 1863.

His Excy. Jefferson Davis,
President Confederate States,
Mr. President,

I have received your letter of the 12th inst. and thank you for the kind terms in which you speak of the army, and for your considerations for myself. I enclose a copy of my letter of the 7th inst., which failed to reach you. The army is encamped around this place, where we shall rest today. The men are in good health and spirits, but want shoes and clothing badly. I have sent back to endeavor to procure a supply of both, and also horse shoes for want of which nearly half our cavalry is unserviceable. As soon as these necessary articles are obtained, we shall be prepared to resume operations. I shall not need the pontoon train now, as the boats used at Falling Waters have been brought away, except the new ones constructed by us, which were too heavy and large for transportation. I have accordingly ordered the train of which you speak to come no further. The attacks on the coast may have been caused by the information contained in the captured letter. I think that all these demonstrations of the enemy are designed to retain troops from the field, and while he must be resisted, and a force kept at threatened points sufficient to secure them, we should endeavor to avoid being misled as to his numbers and real intentions, and thus enable him to accomplish his purpose. I do not know that I shall need any more troops here, and they had better be kept in front of Richmond to secure it from attack, and protect our railroads.

I learn that the enemy has thrown a pontoon bridge over the Potomac at Harper's Ferry. Should he follow us in this direction, I shall lead him up the valley and endeavor to attack him as far from his base as possible.

I share in your Excellency's regret for the fall of Vicksburg. It will be necessary for us to endeavor to select some point on the Mississippi and fortify it strongly, so that it may be held by a small garrison, which could be supplied with ammunition and provisions to enable it to stand a siege, thus leaving as many troops as possible free to operate against the enemy. I

think that in this way a land attack against such position as we may select can be prevented.

I am with great respect
Your Excellency's obt. servt.
(signed) R. E. Lee
General.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Pemberton, Brandon, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 16, 1863

Yours of 14th and 15th received. Had mine of 14th reached you? Do the men insist on leaving when service is offered, or is it to avoid a camp for paroled prisoners?
Withdraw your troops to Demopolis and give further information to aid in decision. A part of your troops could not go home now if furloughed, and you have not suggested any discrimination. They can all realize the pressing nature of our condition, and the importance of thirty days to the future of our country. Yourself and the general officers whose names were sent on have been discharged from their parole and can enter at once on duty.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Pemberton, Brandon, Miss.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram Richmond, July 17, 1863

I have indicated my wish that the troops should be promptly in service. Unless Grant is checked the means of supporting an army in your Department will be destroyed. The men who are near their homes could visit them and reach the rendezvous nearly as soon as the main force. Exceptional cases might have leave for time according to circumstances. You repeat opinion as to necessity for furloughs and I cannot know as well as yourself how far it is unavoidable. Can therefore only ask of you to keep the main purpose in view and use your discretion. Twelve thousand arms were sent to Genl. Johnston for militia. They could not have been issued. Five thousand are at Selma and more will be sent.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 18, 1863

Governor:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst., informing me of your efforts to raise the seven thousand men I recently called for, and asking me to receive as part of this number certain companies already organized by you for local defence.

The Secretary of War has been directed to receive the companies offered and to credit them to the State; in compliance with your request.

Your zeal and energy are so well known and so highly appreciated that I am induced to hope that you will succeed in organizing the full number called for, though you do not now expect to be able to do so.

Your failure to obtain the desired legislation shows how slow our people are to realize the necessities of the country.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Brandon, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 18, 1863

Your dispatch of yesterday received informing me of your retreat from Jackson towards the East.

I desire to know your ulterior purpose.

The enemy may *not pursue, but move up the Central Road, may waste the rich country towards Tennessee and co-operate afterwards with Rosecrans; another column, Eastern Louisiana being abandoned, may be sent from N. O. to attack Mobile on the land side.*

The recommendation to furlough the paroled troops from Vicksburg offers a hard alternative under the pressure of our present condition.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 18, 1863

The proclamation embraces all subject to conscription. Those so subject and now at Charleston or about to go there may be enrolled but not withdrawn from their companies until the exigency has passed. The privilege of selecting their companies will not be forfeited by such enrolment.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 18, 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 6th inst., in relation to the appointment of Maj. Bradford as quartermaster in charge of the collection of the tax in kind in North Carolina.

I caused inquiry to be made as to the circumstances of Maj. Bradford's appointment, and have been informed that at the time he received it there was urgent need of a competent officer for the tax service in North Carolina, that there was no applicant for the office from that State, and that Maj. Bradford's recommendations were ample as to character and qualifications.

It is also stated that Major Bradford although formerly of Norfolk, Va., has been for some time a resident of North Carolina, and that it was in view of this fact, of his capacity, of the absence of any application by a citizen of North Carolina, and of the pressing necessity that the appointment should be made without delay—that Maj. Bradford was commissioned to superintend the collection of the tax in kind in your State.

After the receipt of your letter which first informed me of the case, I have conversed with the Secty. of War with a view that not only this but every impediment to your successful career should be removed. I am aware of the embarrassments you may have in carrying out your patriotic efforts to aid the Confederate Government in this struggle, and relying on your capacity and energy to overcome them would be very far from

willingly allowing any additional obstruction to be thrown in your way.

Very respectfully and truly yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Note by Burton N. Harrison, Secretary to President Davis.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 20, 1863

A copy of a private and confidential letter from the President, of this date, to Hon. REUBEN DAVIS, relative to the "situation" in Mississippi and the inexpediency of convening Congress in special session at present to enlarge the conscript Act, &c., is filed in the Private Secretary's office. The President directed that a copy should be preserved in this manner rather than in this letter book.

B. N. H.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. Sam Jones, Dublin Depot, Va.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 20, 1863

Remain in your Department and communicate situation to Genls. Buckner and Preston.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Enterprize, Missi.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 20, 1863

Your dispatches of 17th and 19th received. The Adjt. General will give you the proper order in relation to furloughs. You are entitled under the cartel to go on duty, but the enemy's Commissioner denies this, and the correspondence will be sent to you as it affects you and other officers similarly situated. The gallant Missourians have my cordial thanks. Their patriotism will be remembered. I hope others will emulate their heroism and follow their example.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Governor of S. Carolina.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 21, 1863

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 17th presented by the Hon. W. P. Miles. Before its receipt Genl. Beauregard had requested a further supply of Brooke and other heavy guns, and I had directed attention to his request.

It would be useless to recount our losses or the delays and disappointments which have attended our efforts to manufacture heavy guns. The result is that we have a very inadequate supply to meet the present wants of the service. From the few on hand it was ordered that two Brooke rifled guns 9000 lbs. and six 4 in. calibre should be sent for use in the present defence of Charleston. One large triple banded 7 in. Brooke gun will, it is reported, be completed this week when it can be also sent. These guns are for naval armament, but are not immediately required for that purpose and I hope will in the meantime prove serviceable at Charleston.

You can scarcely feel more solicitous than myself for the safety of Charleston, and will not doubt that all which can be consistently done to secure that success for which we earnestly pray will be freely performed.

I fear the effect of a protracted siege. The enemy with far greater resources and numbers than ourselves can more readily supply any loss which may be sustained, and if more troops can be advantageously used will, after his successes on the Mississippi, be able to furnish the requisite number.

The season it is to be hoped will prove injurious to northern men exposed as they must be on the beach of Morris Island.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, near Morton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 21, 1863

Return to me the cypher despatch of 18th to enable me to learn why my cypher despatches to you are illegible.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, Va., July 21, 1863

General:

Yours of the 16th was duly received. The letter of the 7th of which you send a copy was after much delay also received. No official account of the casualties in your army having been received, I have continued to hope that the reports exaggerated your loss. If however it be approximately as great as stated, it will I suppose involve reorganization. Where companies have been reduced to squads and regiments to little more than companies without any immediate prospect of recruiting them it may be better to disband some and enrol the men for such as are retained. If the law permitted a better arrangement could be made by consolidation and selection of the officers, but this was discussed by the Congress and rejected. The number of Brigades and Divisions might be reduced by causing more Regiments to be put in a Brigade and where there is any prospect of filling up the companies, this would be the kinder proceeding as maintaining names associated with gallant deeds and saving officers from discharge because their hard service had swept away their commands.

In some instances I can readily imagine that the efficiency of a company or even of a regiment may have been destroyed by the loss of the commander and a few others on whom the discipline and confidence of the rest depended. These may be exceptional cases where the remnant could if sent away draw to it recruits which otherwise would go elsewhere. By such reflections I have been led to call your attention to the propriety of either adopting a general plan or deciding each case on its merits so as to avoid the embarrassment of applying any general rule where there are so many exceptions. Archer's Brigade, previously small, is reported as nearly annihilated. The Tennessee Regiments have never been recruited, and it may be that if too small to be valuable here, that they could get men if sent to their former home in East Tennessee, and then return or in the meantime be exchanged for another Brigade. I mention the case not to express an opinion, but to illustrate as to exceptional conditions.

Genl. J. R. Davis, who is here quite feeble, with indications of typhoid fever, informs me that his Brigade on the first and third day at Gettysburg lost so heavily that the whole force re-

maining was less than five hundred. Unlike the other, nothing could be gained in this case by returning home, but something might be from being sent to the rear to recruit and reorganize. Wounded officers and men sick officers and men as they return will add not only to the numbers, but also to the proper reorganization consequent upon the loss of many of the best officers of the command.

Genl. Beauregard regards it as necessary to act on the defensive and has repulsed the assault of the enemy on Battery Wagner. The successes of the enemy on the Mississippi will enable them to send as many troops as are needed and unless the climate protects us, it is to be feared that their artillery and labor will at last give them "the Island" and the best position for breaching Fort Sumter.

Genl. Johnston is retreating on the East side of Pearl River, and I can only learn from him of such vague purposes as were unfolded when he held his army before Richmond. He seems to anticipate an attack on Mobile and it is certainly not improbable, unless Genl. E. K. Smith can keep them occupied in lower Louisiana. Yesterday it was reported that the enemy's cavalry were moving on the R. R. to Wilmington from the direction of Greenville and Speer's cavalry is said to be again about Suffolk. The gunboats have gone lower down the River. Genl. Dix and Genl. Keyes are reported to have gone to New York; Foster to be in command at Ft. Monroe.

With cordial regard, I am
Very respectfully yours
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. Goodman, Presdt. of the M&C R.R. Okolona, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 22, 1863

Nothing known here of the orders alluded to previous to receipt of your dispatch.

Orders have been given not to destroy property unless it is clearly necessary to prevent its capture by enemy. With energy and good management, the greater part of it could be sent down to Meridian.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 22, 1863

The War Dept. may differ from you in the choice of the officer to command the Depot at Atlanta without expecting to furnish the means to him to defend the place against an attack of the enemy and without relieving you from the duty of protecting the main Depot for the supply of your army.

You will endeavor to make the dispositions necessary to remove the inadequacy for defence of which you speak.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Charleston, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 22, 1863

As stated in despatch of 18th, you are authorized to keep during the present exigency those men who are between the ages of 40 and 45 years and now at Charleston or about to go there. When the necessity has passed they will be assigned to companies in provisional army. Those who are in organizations for local defence elsewhere, if subject to conscription should be discharged so as to permit them to go to camps of instruction.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Head Qrs. Army No. Va.
Culpeper Court House,
24th July 1863.

His Excy. President,
Richmond, Va.

Mr. President,

After the army crossed the Potomac from Maryland, I had determined to move it into Loudon, but the rains that had swelled the Potomac placed the Shenandoah six feet above fording stage, and before arrangements could be made to use the

pontoon bridge, so thoughtfully forwarded by you, the enemy crossed into Loudon county, and occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge through which I had intended to advance. The difficulty of ascertaining his plans, the delay that would have been occasioned by forcing a passage in his front; and the ease with which he could have thrown himself upon Richmond induced me to move up to Chester's Gap and take position at this place. General Longstreet's corps reached here today, Gen. A. P. Hill's is expected to arrive within ten miles, and Gen. Ewell's corps which was to pass through Thornton's Gap will probably be here day after tomorrow. My intention is if practicable to give the army a few days rest, and refresh our weary animals, which having been obliged to subsist chiefly on grass, are much reduced. I desire also to draw to me as rapidly as possible all the convalescents and absentees, and to strengthen our ranks. We are in great need of horse shoes, having been able to procure none on our expedition, and our constant motion preventing their manufacture from iron that fell into our possession; more than half the cavalry is dismounted, and the artillery horses and wagon teams have suffered greatly.

I learn that the enemy is massing a large army between Centreville and Manassas Junction. A portion of Gen. Meade's army crossed the Potomac as low down as the Chain Bridge, and I understand embraces the commands of Gen. Dix and Foster. Gen. Cochran advanced on the road from Alexandria. Since crossing the mountain, I have learned that the Manassas Gap Rail Road is in operation as high as Salem, and I hear that they are carrying up timber with the view probably of extending it beyond. It would seem to have been the intention of the enemy to penetrate the Shenandoah Valley above Winchester, for in addition to these preparations, I am informed that last evening he advanced three corps into Manassas Gap.

Very respectfully your obt. servt.

(signed) R. E. Lee,

Genl.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Govr. of No. Carolina.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Confidential.

Richmond, July 24, 1863.

Dear Sir:

A letter has just been received by the Secretary of State from one of the most distinguished citizens of your State containing the following passage:

"I have just learned that the Union or Reconstruction party propose holding meetings throughout the State. Trouble is fast brewing here and I fear we shall soon have open resistance to the Government under the leadership of that reckless politician, Holden, Editor of the Standard."

This is not the first intimation I have received that Holden is engaged in the treasonable purpose of exciting the people of North Carolina to resistance against their Government, and co-operation with the enemy, but I have never received any definite statement of facts as to his conduct beyond the assertion that his newspaper, which I do not read, is filled with articles recommending resistance to the constituted authorities.

I know not whether his hostility and that of his accomplices is directed against the Confederate Government alone, or embraces that of his State; nor am I aware whether he has gone so far as to render him liable to criminal prosecution.

If however the facts stated in the extract of the letter which I have quoted be true, (and this author is entitled to the fullest credit) the case is quite grave enough for me to consult with you on the subject, and to solicit from you such information and advice as you may be able to give me, for the purpose of such joint or separate action as may be proper to defeat designs fraught with great danger to our common country.

I write you confidentially because there may be error or exaggeration in the reports about this man, and I would be unwilling to injure him by giving publicity to the charges, if there be no foundation for them.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. J. Hardee, Morton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 27, 1863.

Genl. Johnston telegraphed the substance of reports of Genl. Cosby and Col. Taylor. Use all available means to ascertain the movements of the enemy, whether up or down the river, number of transports, and communicate both facts and your deductions.

Genl. Johnston will at Mobile learn whether any demonstration is being made on the Gulf Coast.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Demopolis, Ala.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 27, 1863.

Your report of the campaign before Vicksburg and of the attack and defence should be made promptly and fully.

Your attention is called to a communication to the *Atlanta Appeal* and published in the *Charleston Mercury* of July 22.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Hon. L. J. Gartrell,[1] *Atlanta, Ga.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 27, 1863.

Have the troops been mustered in so as to form a Brigade? No rolls have been received.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va., Culpepper C. H.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, July 28, 1863.

General:

Yours of the 24th and 27th have been received. Efforts have been and will continue to be made to send up the convalescents and absentees from your army, and I am well disposed in regard to your suggestion for a general amnesty. Your remarks in relation to the service of enrollment impress me as likely to lead to improvement. Col. Jno. Preston will be here in a day or two to take charge of the Bureau for conscription and I hope will so conduct as to secure better results.

For some time past I have felt the evil to which you refer:

[1] Lucius J. Gartrell, brigadier-general C. S. A. Born in Wilkes County, Ga., 1821, died 1891; member of Congress U. S. A. and of C. S. A. Before the War for Southern Independence was noted as the foremost criminal lawyer of Georgia.

the employment of young able-bodied men and in excessive numbers by the Quarter Master's Department for duties which could as well be performed by aged men or disabled soldiers.

The horse shoes you want were sent to you, but I am informed the first lot went to Staunton and would only reach you after being brought back.

You know how rare a quality is that which is esteemed administrative capacity and how much it was needed in our condition. Without stores or workshops or artisans and without even the agricultural habits suited to the wants of this great war, it was needful that a system economizing all supplies should be so administered as to avoid exhaustion. Grain, even pork, can be reproduced annually but where shall we get future supplies of beeves sheep and horses? The hides of the beeves butchered should have furnished a large surplus of leather, and as our commerce heretofore small is threatened with destruction, the importance of this item increases. The railroads are growing worse, and heavy losses are said to have been sustained, in the Southwest, of locomotives and machinery, which cannot soon, if during the war, be replaced. Our people have proven their gallantry and patriotic zeal,—their fortitude is now to be tested. May God endow them with all the virtue which is needed to save a suffering country and maintain a just cause.

I have felt more than ever before the want of your advice during the recent period of disaster. You know how one army of the enemy has triumphed by attacking three of ours in detail, at Vicksburg, Port Hudson and Jackson. Genl. Johnston, after evacuating Jackson, retreated to the east, to the pine woods of Mississippi, and if he has any other plan than that of watching the enemy it has not been communicated.

Pemberton's army commenced deserting to such extent that he was permitted to give furloughs generally for ten, fifteen, and thirty days; he thinks he will thus secure their future services. The siege at Charleston hastens slowly and General Beauregard calls for reinforcements and heavy guns. Some of both have been sent, but less of each than he asked for. Demonstrations have been made on the Railroad between Wilmington and Petersburg, and General Whiting calls for more troops, especially cavalry. The enemy are reported to be in force again at Suffolk. I think it is the same force which was on the Pamunkey, when Clingman's brigade was sent to Charleston. Colquitt's brigade was sent to Wilmington to replace it. General Whiting on his own responsibility sent two regiments of this Brigade to Charleston; now Beauregard asks for the other two,

and Whiting wants Clingman's Brigade returned to Wilmington.

Brigadier General Ransom was sent from Petersburg to Weldon to meet the force said to be advancing upon that place, and when the report of an advance from Suffolk reached here, Brigadier General Jenkins was sent with his Brigade to Petersburg. General S. Jones when about to start for the valley was stopped by an advance of the enemy, and a portion of the force he was to take with him was retained.

The trans-Mississippi Department must now become mainly self sustaining, and will require the exercise of extraordinary powers by the commander, but how far this may extend without involving opposition it is difficult to foresee. To secure efficiency there must be greater promptitude than is attainable if papers are to be sent here by present available routes, yet this war can only be successfully prosecuted while we have the cordial support of the people and this is best secured by close adherence to law and usage. Misfortune often develops secret foes and oftener still makes men complain. It is comfortable to hold some one responsible for one's discomfort. In various quarters there are mutterings of discontent, and threats of alienation are said to exist with preparation for organized opposition. There are others who, faithful but dissatisfied, find an appropriate remedy in the removal of officers who have not succeeded. They have not counted the cost of following their advice. Their remedy to be good should furnish substitutes who would be better than the officers displaced.

If a victim would secure the success of our cause I would freely offer myself, and there are many of those most assailed who would I am sure contend for the place if their sacrifice could bring such reward.

With prayers for your health, safety and happiness, I am

As ever, your friend,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Jackson, (Miss.) July 29th, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I have supposed that you have been kept correctly advised by the military authorities of the evacuation of this Department, and as their means of information were so much more ample

than my own, I have not undertaken to report it to you. The fall of Vicksburg, succeeded by the retreat from Jackson, is due to causes of which you are apprised, and whether they be the result of errors of judgement or of insufficient force to defeat the plans of the enemy, I will not presume to decide. At this writing, the main body of Gen. Johnston's army is at Morton some thirty miles east of Jackson. The cavalry consisting of Gen. Jackson's command are for the most part east of Pearl River, the headquarters of that officer being at Brandon.

The enemy have fallen back in the direction of Vicksburg, and scouts report none of their cavalry east of Big Black.

It is much to be desired that our military commanders will appreciate the importance of keeping a cavalry force just as near the lines of the enemy as possible so as to protect the people against marauding parties. The principal reasons operating in favor of this policy are these:

To enable planters to secure their crops with a view to supplying the army.

To arrest deserters and to prevent paroled and furloughed men, of whom there are many, from falling within the lines of the enemy, and escaping duty.

To exercise a salutary political influence. The manhood of the country is in the Army; and I am sorry to know that many who have remained at home, and have felt the abuses of the foe, with the view to saving what property remains to them, have made overtures of the most disgraceful and humiliating character to the commanding generals of the U. S. Army. No longer feeling the power of their own government, they have in the most craven manner evinced a willingness to throw themselves upon the mercy of the enemy, craving his clemency, and indicating a readiness to return to the Union.

To crush out these disloyal demonstrations, it is necessary as far as it is possible, to keep up a military force where they are made, and to embrace as much of our State as it can be done within our lines.—These political reasons may not be understood or appreciated by the military authorities. The cavalry of which there is an abundance in our State, if properly disposed of, can afford the needed protection, and subserve all the purposes designed.

Whether Lt. Gen. Pemberton be efficient, or competent, or not, to the command of an Army or a Department, I will not undertake to say. I will not endeavor to pronounce judgement upon his merit as an officer; but it is due to truth and the common cause to say that he has entirely lost the confidence of the

country and the Army he has commanded, and that his capacity for usefulness however great it otherwise might be, is *utterly destroyed*. I have made diligent inquiry, and my conclusion is that he cannot hold in a state of organization much less efficiency and discipline, the army he has commanded. It is to be hoped you will find it compatible with the public service to transfer him to another command.

With my best wishes for your health, and success in the difficult and trying duties which are pressing upon you, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obt. servant &c.
E. BARKSDALE.

To Prest. Davis.
endorsed:
Hon. E. Barksdale, Jackson, Miss. July 29, 1863; with regard to affairs in Mississippi and *Genl. Pemberton.*

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, July 30, 1863.

Your letter received. I will be glad to see you at your earliest convenience. Let me know of your coming, and you shall meet with no delay.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 1, 1863.

Sir:

I enclose to you a communication published as you will observe in the newspapers. There is internal evidence that it was written by some one having access to your correspondence, and a copy of a letter written by one of your staff has been exhibited in this city which contains passages so identical with the published communication as to leave little room for doubt as to its origin.

It is needless to say that you are not considered capable of giving countenance to such efforts at laudation of yourself

and detraction of others, and the paper is sent to you with the confidence that you will take the proper action in the premises.

Very respectfully yr. most obt. svt.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. V., Culpepper C. House, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 2, 1863

General:

Your letter of the 29th ult. and telegram of the 1st inst. have been received. I have directed that the most energetic efforts should be made to return stragglers to your army, and to enroll all who owe service and have heretofore been improperly omitted. Special attention was called to the large number of men employed at depots &c. Convalescents are being sent up as rapidly as the medical officers advise. I have prepared an amnesty proclamation, and hope it will aid in the effort to restore stragglers. It will release also a number of those now in confinement. If we get from the militia and local defence men a reliable force to garrison Petersburg and other points upon the R.R. to Wilmington it will enable us to withdraw part of the small force now there. It is painful to contemplate our weakness when you ask for reinforcements, and I dare not encourage you to count upon the aid to be supplied from here. You may however rely upon earnest exertions to meet your want.

The loss of officers in the recent battles must for a time present a difficulty which the arrival of recruits will not remove. Those who have been killed may be replaced, but it is not so with those who have been wounded or captured. In the former case a new organization might be resorted to, in the latter it would hardly be justifiable as it would displace officers because of a casualty most likely to befal those who are boldest in battle.

You are so much better able to judge of the propriety of resuming your former position in rear of Fredericksburg than myself, that I hesitate to express an opinion, but as you request it will say that because of the facility with which your former position may be turned if approached from the rear, and its proximity to the enemies' base it would seem to me more advisable to take a position further to the rear before accepting the offer of battle. A well-selected position which would enable

the troops covering Richmond to unite with the army of No. Va. without exposing the capital to attack by a hostile force on the Peninsula would seem better suited to our condition of numerical inferiority. If such a position were selected, and strongly intrenched, and supplied with siege batteries, it might be possible by falling back upon it, after the enemy advanced to attack, to draw him upon our line of defence. I assume that he would not attack you in an intrenched position unless drawn upon it by strategy, as the country is so open that he may easily avoid a fortified locality.

If he advance in the direction indicated by your telegram, my recollection of the topography is that a strong position may be taken on the South side of the Rapidan, where this bank commands that on the North side and where the approaches to the river are over open fields. My observation was however very limited and I have no reliable map for reference.

For what purpose would the enemy move his main force towards Gordonsville? Can it be to sever Richmond from the West? Or is it to try a new route to the capitol?

The siege of Charleston progresses slowly, but there are reports of reinforcements to the enemy. If true, it will require us to send troops to Beauregard. I think we can withdraw them from Johnston's army.

I will not disturb your mind by reciting my troubles about distant operations. You were required in the field and I deprived myself of the support you gave me here. I need your counsel but must strive to meet the requirements of the hour without distracting your attention at a time when it should be concentrated on the field before you.

As ever truly your friend,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Governor of So. Carolina.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 6, 1863

Sir:

Your letter of the 28th ult. was received by me a day or two since. Within a very recent period an increased number of heavy guns, smooth bore and rifled, of both Navy and Army patterns, have been sent to Charleston. Doubtles most of them have already arrived there and are now in service.

Evans' Brigade has been ordered to Charleston, and the remainder of Colquitt's will be at once. In relation to the incomplete gunboat "Charleston", it is deemed proper and best that, whatever shall be done with her, must be done upon full consultation with Captain Tucker, and under his command. The Secretary of the Navy, I am informed, has communicated by telegraph with you on this subject.

Be assured that the Executive Branch of the Government will continue to do all that is possible for the safety and relief of the city, which we pray will never be polluted by the footsteps of a lustful, relentless, inhuman foe. It must never pass to the even temporary subjection of the mean and cruel enemy. I trust that the organization of the militia on which you were engaged is nearly if not quite complete. What is its number and efficiency?

Most respectfully, your obt. servant
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Camp Orange, Aug. 8, 1863.

Mr. President—Your letters of July 28 and August 2 have been received, and I have waited for a leisure hour to reply; but I fear that will never come. I am extremely obliged to you for the attention given to the wants of this army, and the efforts made to supply them. Our absentees are returning, and I hope the earnest and beautiful appeal made to the country in your proclamation may stir up the whole people, and that they may see their duty and perform it. Nothing is wanted but that their fortitude should equal their bravery, to insure the success of our cause. We must expect reverses, even defeats. They are sent to teach us wisdom and prudence; to call forth greater energies, and to prevent our falling into greater disasters. Our people have only to be true and united, to bear manfully the misfortunes incident to war, and all will come right in the end.

I know how prone we are to censure, and how ready to blame others for the non-fulfillment of our expectations. This is unbecoming in a generous people, and I grieve to see its expression. The general remedy for the want of success in a military commander is his removal. This is natural, and in many instances proper. For, no matter what may be the ability of the officer,

if he loses the confidence of his troops, disaster must sooner or later come.

I have been prompted by these reflections more than once since my return from Pennsylvania to propose to your excellency the propriety of selecting another commander for this army. I have seen and heard of expressions of discontent in the public journals at the result of the expedition. I do not know how far this feeling extends in the army. My brother officers have been too kind to report it, and so far the troops have been too generous to exhibit it. It is fair, however, to suppose that it does exist, and success is so necessary to us that nothing should be risked to secure it. I, therefore, in all sincerity, request your excellency to take measures to supply my place. I do this with the more earnestness because no one is more aware than myself of my inability for the duties of my position. I can not even accomplish what I myself desire. How can I fulfil the expectations of others? In addition, I sensibly feel the growing failure of my bodily strength. I have not yet recovered from the attack I experienced the past spring. I am becoming more and more incapable of exertion, and am thus prevented from making the personal examinations and giving the personal supervisions to the operations in the field, which I feel to be necessary. I am so dull that in making use of the eyes of others I am frequently misled. Everything, therefore, points to the advantages to be derived from a new commander, and I the more anxiously urge the matter upon your excellency from my belief that a younger and abler man than myself can readily be obtained. I know that he will have as gallant and brave an army as ever existed to second his efforts, and it would be the happiest day of my life to see at its head a worthy leader; one that would accomplish more than I could perform, and all that I have wished. I hope that your excellency will attribute my request to the true reason, the desire to serve my country and to do all in my power to insure the success of her righteous cause.

I have no complaints to make of any one but myself. I have received nothing but kindness from those above me, and the most considerate attention from my comrades and companions in arms. To your excellency, I am specially indebted for uniform kindness and consideration. You have done everything in your power to aid me in the work committed to my charge, without omitting anything to promote the general welfare. I pray that your efforts may at length be crowned with success,

and that you may long live to enjoy the thanks of a grateful people.[1]

With sentiments of great esteem, I am very respectfully and truly yours,

R. E. Lee, General.

His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Meridian, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 8, 1863

Your despatch received. In what portion of country do you advise that conscription should be suspended to enable a local force to be raised to operate on river transportation?
The purpose indicated is approved, but it must be efficiently done and so as not to prevent recruiting for army.

(Signed) Jeffn. Davis

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, &c. &c.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 9, 1863

My Dear Sir:

Maj. Memminger handed to me yours of the 29th ult., and I intended to reply by the same medium; but he left sooner than I expected, and I must adopt the less safe channel of the public mail.

The article to which I called your attention to an internal evidence of its origin, and indicated some points which should be noticed in your report. It was therefore that I wished you to read it. I did not expect or desire that you should reply to the articles found in the press.

The statements in relation to operations connected with the battle of Bakers Creek sufficiently warn you of an attempt to place on you the responsibility for all which preceded and followed that event, and indicate the points to be covered.

[1] This letter may well be regarded as a truthful expression of the generosity, the modesty, the exalted manhood, and the disinterested patriotism of General Lee.

To some men it is given to be commended for what they are expected to do, and to be sheltered when they fail by a transfer of the blame which may attach; to others it is decreed that their success shall be denied or treated as a necessary result; and their failures imputed to incapacity or crime.

The test of success, therefore, though far from just is one which may be accepted in preference to the popular delusion so readily created by unscrupulous men who resort to the newspapers to disseminate falsehood and forestall the public judgment.

Genl. Lee and yourself have seemed to me examples of the second class, and my confidence has not been diminished because "letter writers" have not sent forth your praise on the wings of the press.

I am no stranger to the misrepresentation of which malignity is capable, nor to the generation of such feeling by the conscientious discharge of duty; and have been taught by a disagreeable experience how closely the messenger of truth follows that of slander.

The court which has been ordered to inquire into the campaign in Mississippi and East Louisiana will, I trust, develop the real causes of events and give to the public the means of doing justice to the actors.

I thank you for the information in relation to my brother, for whose safety I have been very anxious.

With my best wishes for you and your family, I am

Very truly and respectfully

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee,[1] *Comdg. Army of No. Va.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 11, 1863

General:

Yours of the 8th inst. has been received. I am glad to find that you concur so entirely with me as to the want of our country in this trying hour, and am happy to add that after the first depression consequent upon our disasters in the West, indications have appeared that our people will exhibit that fortitude

[1] This reply to General Lee's letter of August 8 is a generous and sympathetic response of a man who was also bearing the soul-depressing burdens of great misfortunes. The two letters are perfect mirrors of the souls of Davis and Lee.

which we agree in believing is alone needful to secure ultimate success.

It well became Sydney Johnston when overwhelmed by a senseless clamor to admit the rule that success is the test of merit, and yet there has been nothing which I have found to require a greater effort of patience than to bear the criticisms of the ignorant, who pronounce everything a failure which does not equal their expectations or desires, and can see no good result which is not in the line of their own imaginings. I admit the propriety of your conclusions, that an officer who loses the confidence of his troops should have his position changed, whatever may be his ability; but when I read the sentence, I was not at all prepared for the application you were about to make. Expressions of discontent in the public journals furnish but little evidence of the sentiment of an army. I wish it were otherwise, even tho' all the abuse of myself should be accepted as the results of honest observation. I say, I wish I could feel that the public journals were not generally partisan nor venal.

Were you capable of stooping to it, you could easily surround yourself with those who would fill the press with your laudations, and seek to exalt you for what you had not done rather than detract from the achievements which will make you and your army the subject of history and object of the world's admiration for generations to come.

I am truly sorry to know that you still feel the effects of the illness you suffered last Spring, and can readily understand the embarrassments you experience in using the eyes of others, having been so much accustomed to make your own reconnaissances. Practice will however do much to relieve that embarrassment, and the minute knowledge of the country which you have acquired will render you less dependent for topographical information.

But suppose, my dear friend, that I were to admit, with all their implications, the points which you present, where am I to find that new commander who is to possess the greater ability which you believe to be required. I do not doubt the readiness with which you would give way to one who could accomplish all that you have wished, and you will do me the justice to believe that if Providence would kindly offer such a person for our use, I would not hesitate to avail of his services.

My sight is not sufficiently penetrating to discover such hidden merit if it exists, and I have but used to you the language

of sober earnestness, when I have impressed upon you the propriety of avoiding all unnecessary exposure to danger because I felt our country could not bear to lose you. To ask me to substitute you by some one in my judgment more fit to command, or who would possess more of the confidence of the army or of the reflecting men in the country is to demand for me an impossibility.

It only remains for me to hope that you will take all possible care of yourself, that your health and strength may be entirely restored, and that the Lord will preserve you for the important duties devolved upon you in the struggle of our suffering country, for the independence which we have engaged in war to maintain.

As ever very respectfully and truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

B. T. Kavanaugh to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Demopolis, Ala., Aug. 13, 1863.

His Ex. Jefferson Davis,
Prest. Con. States,
Sir,

In a government like ours, where the people are sovereign, and its officers act by their authority, it is presumed that the will of the people will be regarded by all officials who seek to carry out their wishes. On the presumption that these fundamental truths, will be regarded by you as correct, I take the liberty, to communicate to you some facts and matters of the deepest interest to our common country, and respectfully ask your early and careful consideration of them.

1st. As a general thing, your acts, as *our* president, have been highly approved and we have felt that you have nobly sustained the dignity and interest of our new confederacy. All your state papers evince a dignity and wisdom of which we are justly proud; in this we delight to honor you.

2nd. But in the matter of selecting Generals for the command of our armies, in this department and that of the Trans-Mississippi there is universal dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction is now about to culminate in utter ruin to our cause if there is not due respect paid to the feelings of the army and

common citizenship of the country. To specify more particularly what is meant by this remark, I will give a few instances of the matters complained of.

1. General Pemberton is universally regarded as wholly incompetent for his position, and by a very large part of the people he is regarded as a designing traitor. I have been in the army, under his command for 8 months, and know what I state to be true. To say nothing of the past, of which you will *hear enough*, I deem it a duty to state that if Pemberton is continued in command of our army here, it will produce results of the most fearful character and you will be held responsible for the fall of Vicksburg and all the disasters that follow in the train of that great calamity. Will you relieve us, in this perilous hour of such a commander.

2. In the Trans Miss. Department a like condition of things unfortunately exists. The people and army have long and earnestly called for the removal of Genl. Holmes and the appointment of Gen. Price to a position where he could act freely and no longer be held under the trammels that have been thrown over him ever since he came into the Confederate service. But unfortunately Holmes, with no merit, no action, and entertaining a jealous hatred towards Price, is kept in the chief command to paralyze every effort to emancipate Ark. and Mo. from Federal dominion. If these things continue, and our country is lost, by the inefficiency of those in the chief command of our army, while every body is begging and praying for a change, the President, who stubbornly refuses to hear or regard the universal voice of the people, will be justly held responsible for the loss of all we are now contending for.

3. It is the universal sentiment of all reflecting men in this section of country, that every disaster that has befallen us in the West has grown out of the fact that weak and inefficient men have been kept in power over those who were looked upon by 99/100 of the army as their superiors in every respect except *rank*. It was so at Elk Horn, Ark. at Corinth, Miss.; and at Grand Gulf, Bakers Creek, Big Black bridge and at Vicksburg; and while this sentiment prevails we can expect nothing else but discontent and demoralization in the army which leads to subsequent defeat.

In the name therefore of 99/100 of our army and people I beseech of you to relieve us of these drones and pigmies now in command and give us Generals of known ability and of sufficient capacity for the responsible positions in which they are placed.

I know Gen. Price to be a man of very superior capacity and he is regarded as such by all who know him and as free from envy and jealousy. Why may he not be promoted to a proper position?

Genl. Hardee, or any other tried and true man would unite and save the old Vicksburg army but if Pemberton is continued there will be rebelion, desertions, and disaster to follow in the train of former evils.

I am nearly 60 years of age, have been in the army for nearly two years, and do not write under the influence of prejudice or passion, but desire calmly and respectfully, but truly, to present you with the forgoing facts and hope they will receive your candid consideration.

Very Respectfully,

Your obt. Servt.

B. T. KAVANAUGH
Chaplain 1st Mo. Cav.

endorsed:
Aug. 13, 1863; Revd. B. T. Kavanaugh, Chaplain 1st Mo. Cav.
In relation to state of feeling of the army and people.
Recd. Aug. 20/63.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Meridian, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 13, 1863

The Act of April 16, 1862, devoted all men subject to enrolment to the purpose of filling up existing companies. The Act of October 11, 1862, authorized the suspension of law for enrolment in certain localities and new organizations where conscription could not be made.

Your application must be brought within these conditions to warrant the incorporation of men subject to conscription in the proposed new organizations. Exempts form the proper material for local defence, and unless Mississippi furnishes conscripts to her regiments most distinguished and consequently reduced by battles, they must be broken up for the want of men to bear banners covered with honorable inscriptions.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Gainesville, Missi.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 14, 1863

To use arms for purposes of instruction and to maintain discipline in camp of paroled men does not come within any restriction of cartel.

The terms of your capitulation must be referred to, to find whether there be other objection.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Hon. Hines Holt, M. C., Columbus, Ga.
(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 14, 1863

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 31st ulto. reached me in due course and received prompt attention.

It is not in contemplation, as you seem to apprehend, to consolidate the regiments whose ranks have been reduced by the casualties of war. It is considered preferable to recruit them, and it is hoped that this may be done under my recent proclamation calling all men under forty five years of age into service.

General Lee is not disposed to accede to the proposition to send Colonel Holt's Regt. to Georgia. There are several other regiments in the Army of Northern Virginia similarly situated, and were this request to be granted, they would doubtless ask for the same indulgence and thus withdraw a considerable force from the army at a time when the presence of every man is urgently needed.

General Lee is also averse to the proposed conversion of Col. Holt's regt. from infantry to cavalry chiefly on the ground of the extreme difficulty in providing forage for the cavalry already organized and partially drilled.

I am well aware of the services of your son's regiment and should be sincerely glad to see it recruited to its full strength,—a consummation to which your patriotic zeal and influence can largely contribute.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Geo. W. Lamar to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Augusta 16 Augt. 1863

President Davis,

Dr. Sir,

Your kindness in conferring the appointment on my youngest Son, W. T. Lamar of Confederate Cadet induces me to again ask another favor.

I have a Son, Dr. S. H. Lamar who entered the Service at the beginning,—as a Private; in the "Southern Rifles" from Alabama, a company, composed of as much intelligence and property as any perhaps in the Confederacy, in it he served *one year* in Va. He was then tendered the office of Asst. Surgeon, in the 61st Georgia Regt. attached to Genl. Jackson's Division (now Genl. Ewells Corps) and has been with it 18 months. He now desires promotion to full Surgeon, and to be assigned for duty wherever the Department requires.

As soon as the Professors of the Medical College of this place can be seen, (several are now absent) I will procure and send their testimonials as to his *character* and *capacity* having graduated some *eight years* ago, under them and they having known him from his early boyhood. He was *examined* by the *Medical Board* before receiving his present Commission, and I will remark has been in active practice since he graduated, in addition to his heavy experience in the army, as Asst. Surgeon. You will readily perceive that he desires *a rise* knowing how many have recd. commissions; who were *forced* into service, only by the conscript law. I will fordw. the papers very soon and trust you will give him consideration.

Our community has been exercised to some extent lately, in order to defeat Genl. Toombs from Representing this Congressional dist (*the 5th*). A Candidate was *found and announced* who can defeat him, but I am happy to say that it is reported and *believed* that he has withdrawn. So we will send, in any event, an Administration Representative as Jno. T. Shewmaker Esq. a young and rising man, by Profession a Lawyer, can and will carry the Election. He is *honest, capable and reliable.* Excuse digression and prolixity.

I am Very Respty.

Geo. W. Lamar.

I beg to add that public opinion is now reacting rapidly in our State, from our recent disasters, which cast a gloom over very

many for a time. Go on as you have done, and all will be well in the end. I have a suggestion about Blockade running, against which I am *unalterably opposed,* but will reserve it for hereafter.

Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Isham Harris & others, Columbus, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 17, 1863

Your dispatch received. Genl. Hardee is now and has been for some time in command of Corps.
He ranks Genl. Pemberton. An inquiry has been ordered that justice might be done. It is not probable that the same troops who were together at Vicksburg will ever be all in the same Corps again.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 19, 1863

Sir:

In the action of the 1st of July, near Gettysburg, the sharpshooters of Brig. Genl. Ransom's Brigade under command of Lt. F. M. Harney, 14th N. C. Vols., dispersed the 150th Penn. Regt. That gallant officer with his own hands wrested the standard from the color bearer of the Penn. Regt., and soon afterwards fell mortally wounded.

Genl. Ransom in communicating the above particulars informed me that it was Harney's last request that the flag should be "presented in his name to the President."

The wish of the dying hero has been complied with. The flag is in my possession, and will be treasured by me as an honorable memento of the valor and patriotic devotion which the soldiers of N. Carolina have displayed on many hard fought fields.

I have thought it due to the lamented officer, with whose family I have not the advantage of being acquainted, to communicate these circumstances to you as the Chief Magistrate of his State, and to express through you to his State, his comrades and

his family, the sincere sympathy I feel with them for the loss of one so worthy of their admiration and esteem. Such deeds illustrate a people's history, justify a people's pride, and sustain a country's hope.

I remain very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Gainesville, Ga.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 19, 1863

Investigation was ordered to embrace the whole campaign of which the surrender of Vicksburg, of Port Hudson, and the evacuation of Jackson were important events; and the causes which led to these disasters were equally to be the subject of inquiry—the failure to make junction, to break investment, &c.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Rains,[1] *Morton, Missi.*

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 19, 1863

I think your services will be useful at Charleston, S. C. Proceed to that place without delay, and on your way order the forwarding of the materials required for laying your batteries.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

[1] Rains, Gabriel James (1803-1881), a soldier, was born in Craven County, N. C., in 1803, and graduated at West Point in 1827. He saw active service in the Seminole War, in the Mexican War, and against the Indians of the Pacific coast and had reached the rank of lieutenant colonel when he resigned from the U. S army, July 31, 1861. He entered the Confederate army and was promoted brigadier general in September, 1861. His field service was in the West and in Virginia, especially at Shiloh and Seven Pines. Placed in charge of the conscript bureau at Richmond, he instituted a plan of torpedo protection for Southern harbors, and also invented a sub-terra shell. From 1877 to 1880 he was connected with the quartermaster's department of the United States army at Charleston, S. C. He died at Aiken, S. C., August 6, 1881.

Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Richmond, August 22, 1863

Sir:

Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of War, covering application from the Engineer Bureau, herewith transmitted, and in conformity with an Act passed by the Legislature of Va., on the 3d of October 1862; I have the honor to call upon your Excellency for five thousand three hundred and forty (5,340) slaves to be employed on the fortifications in this State.

Very respectfully and truly yours

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. J. Hardee, Morton, Missi.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 22, 1863

Does your condition enable you to reinforce army of Tennessee? If so to what extent and in what time?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Chattanooga, Tenn.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 22, 1863

Expedite the organization of furloughed prisoners ordered to rendezvous in Tenn.

How many arms will be required?

Have you batteries on the commanding heights?

Can you attack one of the enemy's columns by a combination of the main body of both of yours so as to fight him in detail?

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 24, 1863

For some days, I have hoped to be able to visit you, wishing to consult you on military questions of a general character. Events in the South and West continue to detain me here. If circumstances will permit your absence, I wish you to come to Richmond.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Col. James Chesnut, Camden, S. C.

(From President's Letter Book.)

Telegram

Richmond, August 24, 1863

Go to Charleston and report by letter.

(Signed) JEFFN. DAVIS

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